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Noble Lord,
Good Shepherd
*Episcopal Power and Piety
in Aquitaine, 877-1050*

Anna Trumbore Jones

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Noble Lord, Good Shepherd

Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine,
877–1050

By

Anna Trumbore Jones



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For mom and dad, and for Larry and Olivia

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ademar, <i>Chronicon</i>	Ademar of Chabannes. <i>Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon</i> . Edited by Pascale Bourgain, Richard Landes, and Georges Pon. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 129. Turnhout, 1999.
Angoulême	Jean Nanglard, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'église d'Angoulême</i> . Angoulême, 1900.
Beaulieu	Maximin Deloche, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin</i> . Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Paris, 1859.
Becquet, <i>Actes</i>	Jean Becquet, ed. <i>Actes des évêques de Limoges des origines à 1197</i> . Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes 56. Paris, 1999.
Becquet, "Les évêques"	Jean Becquet, ed. and trans. "Les évêques de Limoges aux X ^e , XI ^e et XII ^e siècles." <i>Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin</i> 104 (1977), 63–90; 105 (1978), 79–104.
BSAHL	<i>Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin</i>
BSAO/MSAO	<i>Bulletin/Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest</i>
<i>Chronicle of Saint-Maixent</i>	Jean Verdon, ed. and trans. <i>La chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751–1140</i> . Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge 33. Paris, 1979.
<i>Historia pontificum</i>	Jacques Boussard, ed. <i>Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium</i> . Paris, 1957.
JE/JL	Philippe Jaffé, et al., eds. <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII</i> . 2nd edition. Volume 1. Leipzig, 1885; reprinted Graz, 1956.

MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio. Hannover, 1826–.
Nouaillé	Pierre de Monsabert, ed. <i>Chartes de l'abbaye de Nouaillé de 678 à 1200</i> . <i>Archives historiques du Poitou</i> 49 (1936).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus... series Latina</i> . Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 221 volumes. Paris, 1844–1864.
Saint-Amant	André Debord, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe</i> . Poitiers, 1982.
Saint-Cybard	Paul Lefrancq, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cybard</i> . Angoulême, 1930.
Saint-Cyprien	Louis Rédet, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers</i> . <i>Archives historiques du Poitou</i> 3 (1874).
Saint-Étienne	Jacques de Font-Réaulx, ed. "Cartulaire de Saint-Étienne de Limoges." <i>Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin</i> 69 (1922), 5–207.
Saint-Hilaire	Louis Rédet, ed. <i>Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de Saint-Hilaire-de-Poitiers</i> . Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest 14. Poitiers, 1847.
Saint-Jean	Georges Musset, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Jean-d'Angély</i> . 2 volumes. <i>Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis</i> 30 and 33 (1901–1903).
Saint-Maixent	Alfred Richard, ed. <i>Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent</i> . 2 volumes. <i>Archives historiques du Poitou</i> 16 and 18 (1886).
Uzerche	Jean-Baptiste Champeval, ed. <i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Uzerche</i> . Paris and Tulle, 1901.
Zimmermann	Harald Zimmermann, ed. <i>Papsturkunden 896–1046</i> . 3 volumes. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften 174, 177, and 198. Vienna, 1985–1989.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: IN BISHOPS WE HONOR OR DENY THE LORD

The office of bishop was, from its earliest centuries, characterized by a range of responsibilities that did not sit easily together. Gregory the Great's key treatise on the office, the *Regula pastoralis*, described the delicate line the bishop must tread between pastoral care for others and attention to his own spiritual life, between the laudable desire of a would-be bishop to serve his flock and the equally commendable apprehension concerning his own worthiness for such a task, between the active and contemplative life.¹ If the spiritual and pastoral aspects of the episcopate were not complicated enough, it also carried extensive administrative responsibilities and secular authority. As the office developed in Late Antiquity, it was often staffed by the sons of Roman aristocratic families. These men, who theretofore might have found careers in imperial government, brought to the episcopate their learning, their polish, and their expectation of power: the bishop in this period, in addition to his spiritual leadership, was often the foremost secular authority in his city and diocese, with responsibilities for maintaining infrastructure and ensuring the practical welfare of the residents. The multifaceted nature of episcopal power, which made the office so challenging to negotiate, also gave bishops a pivotal role in the political and religious development of late antique Europe.²

The tenth and early eleventh centuries in western Europe share certain striking features with Late Antiquity: again, a strong and far-reaching Empire—that of the Carolingians—was in the process of fragmentation; again, outsiders entered the realm, to the distress of many inhabitants. And again, episcopal power, which had remained strong in alliance with

¹ Gregory the Great, *Règle pastorale*, ed. and trans. Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Morel, *Sources chrétiennes* 381–82, 2 volumes (Paris, 1992), esp. book 1, pp. 124–73.

² The evolution of the role of bishops in this era has received much scholarly attention; see Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 37 (Berkeley, CA, 2005), pp. 6–16 for an overview.

secular rulers throughout the early Middle Ages, would play a key role in a time of social, political, and religious change.³ An abbot called before a council in Aquitaine in southwestern France in the early eleventh century compared episcopal authority to that of Christ, claiming that “in bishops we honor or deny the Lord.”⁴ While we might suspect this abbot of flattery, given that he was trying to soothe a group of bishops angry at his purported insubordination, there is much evidence to confirm the extent of episcopal influence in this period: throughout Aquitaine bishops moved between and participated in networks of spiritual and political power. Because their authority sprang from roots both religious and secular, and their actions similarly ranged from those of a pastor to those consistent with the responsibilities of a landed lord, contemporary reactions to any given bishop were often contradictory, making descriptions from that period at times discordant and difficult to reconcile. Bishop Grimoard of Angoulême (r. 991–1018) serves as a representative example of such a figure.

*Conflicting Portraits of a Bishop: The Case of Grimoard
of Angoulême*

As the year 1000 approached, Grimoard was embroiled in a conflict with Viscount Guy of Limoges over the monastery of Brantôme in the region of Périgord. This clash was the result of a longer-standing dispute between the viscounts of Limoges and the lords of the March, whose occasional flare-ups shaped many important aspects of political and ecclesiastical life in Aquitaine in this period.⁵ In the most recent episode in this conflict, Guy had built a castle near Brantôme while the current count of the March, Boso II, was on pilgrimage to Rome. Guy hoped to take advantage of Boso’s absence to assert his preeminence over a monastery long favored by the family of the March.⁶ His plan failed, however, as Boso returned from Rome without delay, gathered an army, and in the resulting battle destroyed the offending castle.

³ For an overview of bishops and other clergy in the early Middle Ages, see Jean Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu et fonctionnaires du roi en Gaule du nord du V^e au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1998).

⁴ For this quotation and its context, see below, chapter 4, pp. 134–37.

⁵ Thomas Head, “The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1005),” *Speculum* 74 (1999), 656–86.

⁶ Head, “The Development of the Peace,” pp. 678–79.

Now Guy, wounded and routed but still coveting the monastery and its assets, tried a new tactic.⁷ Brantôme was controlled by Bishop Grimoard, although it is not clear how he came into possession the monastery—it may have arisen from the influence wielded by his family, the castellans of Mussidan, in the Périgord—or under what arrangement he held it. Guy captured Grimoard and demanded that he turn over the monastery as a gift; when Grimoard refused, Guy imprisoned him in a tower at Limoges. Eventually Guy relented and released him, and Grimoard traveled immediately to Rome to complain of his treatment before Pope Sylvester II.⁸

Here the two medieval chronicles that describe this incident diverge. The *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, written in the twelfth century, tells us simply that Guy was condemned by the Roman curia for his actions, and that when he arrived in person in Rome he was turned over to the custody of Grimoard.⁹ The chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes, however, whose various versions were composed between 1025 and 1031, only a few decades after these events, included other details.¹⁰ Ademar recounted that Guy appeared in Rome on papal summons and was sentenced to a particularly gruesome death. The papal court ruled that anyone who captured a bishop should have his limbs bound to wild horses and thus torn apart; the resulting pieces were to be devoured by wild beasts. Guy was turned over to Grimoard's custody to await this grim fate, which was to befall him in three days' time. Grimoard's indignation must have had its limits, however, as he and Guy, according to Ademar, came to a secret agreement before the appointed day of punishment and fled Rome together without the pope's knowledge.¹¹ Guy's later pilgrimage to Jerusalem was probably part of the resolution of this dispute with Grimoard.¹²

This dramatic confrontation is only one example of the seeming discrepancies in Grimoard's story as told in these two chronicles. In the longest passage that Ademar devoted to the bishop—the same in

⁷ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 158).

⁸ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (pp. 158–59); *Historia pontificum*, c. 23, pp. 15–16.

⁹ *Historia pontificum*, c. 23, pp. 15–16.

¹⁰ On the composition of Ademar's chronicle, see Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), chapters 6, 7, and 10.

¹¹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (pp. 158–59).

¹² Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.40 (p. 160); Head, "The Development of the Peace," p. 679.

which he told the story of the dispute with Guy—he complained that Grimoard had purchased the monastery of Saint-Cybard from Count William IV of Angoulême. This was particularly shocking because the counts of Angoulême had served as defenders of the house for centuries. Grimoard then refused to appoint an abbot and proceeded to give many of the monastery’s estates away to his relatives and to other laymen. Among the assets of Saint-Cybard was a monastery in the Périgord called Trémolat, revered as the resting-place of Cybard’s parents. Grimoard gave Trémolat to his brother Aimeri, a castellan, who in turn distributed its land to his followers, the ominously-nicknamed *infernales*; thus, Ademar remarks, Trémolat was “utterly alienated from the right of Saint-Cybard.”¹³ In the most substantial portion of Ademar’s chronicle concerning Grimoard, therefore, the bishop emerges as a man who prioritized family wealth and security over pastoral care for religious houses. Grimoard’s name does appear elsewhere in Ademar’s work in more neutral contexts, however: we learn that Grimoard participated in the consecration of bishops of Périgueux and Limoges, that he presided over the dedication of the rebuilt cathedral of Angoulême, and that he was present at the consecration of the monastery of Bassac.¹⁴

The chapter on Grimoard in the *Historia pontificum*, on the other hand, is entirely flattering, passing over in silence Grimoard’s questionable treatment of Saint-Cybard. This text presents Grimoard’s conflict with Viscount Guy in a more positive light, omitting the bishop’s secret reconciliation with his former enemy and thus stressing his role as victim in the situation. It also particularly emphasized Grimoard’s good work on behalf of his cathedral of Saint-Pierre, as he consecrated a newly-built cathedral church, gave donations to the canons, and encouraged gifts by others. The chapter concludes with discussion of a miracle that occurred after Grimoard died and was buried in the cathedral. Some years later, when a band of men was staying in the church, one happened to drift into sleep directly on Grimoard’s tomb, which had by then fallen into disrepair. The man was awakened from slumber three times by an angelic voice, warning him that he slept on the tomb of a holy man and that he should depart; the contrite man later oversaw the repair of the bishop’s resting place. In the *Historia*

¹³ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (pp. 158–59).

¹⁴ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.48 (pp. 167–68), 3.49 (pp. 168–69), 3.51 (p. 171), and 3.59 (p. 180).

pontificum, unlike Ademar's chronicle, Grimoard was not only a wholly admirable prelate, but a man saintly enough to have angels guarding his remains.¹⁵

How should we approach these two differing portraits of Grimoard? Can they—should they—be reconciled? The circumstances in which the two chronicles were composed help account for the differences between these two depictions, while the surviving charters recording Grimoard's transactions help elucidate further the respective agendas of the chroniclers. Ademar's most venomous condemnation of the bishop focused on Grimoard's behavior toward Saint-Cybard. Ademar was passionate about this subject because, although he is better known in the context of his work at Saint-Martial in Limoges, he was in fact a monk of Saint-Cybard, joining the community as a young boy in about 996.¹⁶ He was a member of the house during Grimoard's episcopate and witnessed the bishop's apparent depredations first hand. Putting aside for the moment Ademar's passage about Saint-Cybard to consider what remains, we are left only with the more positive references to Grimoard and the account of his conflict with Viscount Guy. Ademar's version of this dispute, while hardly complimentary to Grimoard, does not condemn him for his possession of Brantôme or his feud with Guy, and it does acknowledge that Guy was the aggressor in imprisoning Grimoard. If Ademar's particular indignation about the fate of Saint-Cybard is taken into account, therefore, his overall portrait of Grimoard seems more balanced and neutral.

The *Historia pontificum*, on the other hand, was written in the twelfth century by an author connected to the cathedral community, possibly a canon.¹⁷ This explains the text's concern to emphasize Grimoard's activity on behalf of the cathedral church of Saint-Pierre. Several charters from Saint-Pierre indicate that the cathedral canons had reason to think favorably of Grimoard, despite some ill-treatment from the bishop early in his episcopate. Toward the end of his reign, Grimoard issued a charter to the canons, in which he stated that he had appropriated unjustly land given to the canons by a man named Gerucius; now, however, faced with a serious illness, he was returning the land to their possession.¹⁸ In another document, probably from the

¹⁵ *Historia pontificum*, c. 23, pp. 15–16.

¹⁶ Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 80.

¹⁷ *Historia pontificum*, introduction, pp. lvi–lvii.

¹⁸ *Angoulême* 8 (p. 10).

same period, Grimoard established three altars in the cathedral church and gave the canons the right to appoint the sacristan who would care for them.¹⁹ In the course of these donations, Grimoard transformed himself from a threatening figure, who had misappropriated the land of the canons, into a benefactor. It is in the latter role that he would be remembered: years later, in 1089, when the bishop of Angoulême challenged the canons' right to appoint the sacristan, the canons invoked the fond memory of Grimoard to reassert their claim.²⁰

The charters and chronicle evidence, taken together, make clear that it is not necessary to choose between Ademar's portrait of Grimoard and that found in the *Historia pontificum*. There is no need to decide if Grimoard was a sinner or a saint, a good prelate or a lay lord in bishop's clothing, a benefactor of religious houses or a scourge. Rather, we find that each portrait was affected by Grimoard's relationship with a particular house, and that those relations and the resultant perceptions of the bishop were malleable. Grimoard's own testimony, as found in the charters, describes the change in his behavior toward the cathedral canons. Furthermore, by rereading the chronicles with the circumstances of their composition in mind, the differences in their views of Grimoard become more explicable: the *Historia pontificum* was keen to praise the cathedral's benefactor; Ademar was outraged about the treatment of his own house but more dispassionate about other aspects of Grimoard's behavior.

I have lingered on the case of Grimoard and his portrayal in the sources for two reasons. First, Grimoard is in many ways representative of bishops of the particular time and place that concern me here—southwestern France from the late ninth to the mid-eleventh centuries—in his attachments to local ruling families, his mix of political and religious involvements, and his changing relationships with religious houses both inside and outside his diocese. Bishops in this period, emerging as most of them did from the local nobility, stood at the nexus of two of the classic orders of medieval society—those who pray and those who fight—and their duties and obligations involved them deeply in these two worlds. As a result, bishops were often faced

¹⁹ Angoulême 77 (pp. 71–73).

²⁰ Angoulême 189 (pp. 178–79).

with conflicting obligations to constituencies who demanded different standards of behavior.²¹

Second, Grimoard illustrates the challenges posed to historians in attempting to reconstruct accurately the activities, expectations, and self-conception of these bishops, who played such a crucial role in medieval society. There has been a tendency in past scholarship to embrace only one aspect of a bishop's activity rather than attempting to encompass the awkward and contradictory whole. In the case of Grimoard, one scholar presented him as a saintly bishop unfairly slandered by Ademar.²² Another, conversely, reads him as an example of a bishop who was a layman in all but name, not defending the church against encroachment in a period marked by political upheaval, but rather victimizing it in as self-interested a manner as any lay lord.²³ The latter view presents Grimoard as an embodiment of the condemnations directed by the monastic and papal reform movements against bishops who, these critics alleged, were overly concerned with the secular aspects of their office. It is closer to the truth, however, to say that Grimoard and his colleagues fit comfortably on neither of these extremes. It is no coincidence that the language used in the most recent scholarship to describe bishops in this period employs vocabulary of in-betweenness and ambiguity; this was the nature of their office. This book, by exploring in depth the evidence concerning Aquitanian bishops such as Grimoard, will join a newly-blossoming conversation that seeks to understand better the tenth-century episcopate in all its complexity.²⁴

The Tenth-Century Bishop in Historiography

Until recently, tenth- and early eleventh-century bishops have received the most scholarly attention in their capacities as temporal lords in

²¹ As Sean Gilsdorf has recently argued in the preface to his edited volume on bishops around the year 1000, bishops did not so much lie "between two worlds" as stand "at the very center of a complex social whole": *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, Neue Aspekte der europäischen Mittelalterforschung 4 (Münster, 2004), xiii.

²² Joseph Mallat, "Étude historique sur Grimoard de Mucidan, abbé de Brantôme et de Saint-Cybard, évêque d'Angoulême (991–1018)," *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 13 (1886), 356–84 and 453–58.

²³ Dominique Barthélemy, *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale, 980–1060* (Paris, 1999), pp. 301–6.

²⁴ See below, n. 32.

possession of extensive estates, which carried with them control of income and men, and as men of high birth endowed with connections brought by blood and position to the rulers of realms. Indeed, much work on bishops has not come from an interest in them *qua* bishops, but rather from a desire to reconstruct the process that resulted in the transformation of the Carolingian Empire into the territories of France and Germany. Among historians of Germany, bishops have long been recognized as playing a key role in the government of the Ottonian and Salian emperors, appointed by those emperors to rule not only churches but entire regions as loyal allies of the crown. Exactly how much control the Ottonian and Salian rulers exerted over the appointment and actions of bishops in the *Reichskirche* has, however, been much debated.²⁵ The large number of episcopal biographies surviving from the eastern part of Charlemagne's former empire has also inspired studies of ideals of episcopal behavior in this period, notably the distinctive figure of the courtier-bishop.²⁶

In France, meanwhile, political developments differed markedly from those in the eastern Frankish kingdoms, and yet the role of the bishop remained crucial to the changes taking place. The late Carolingian

²⁵ For important examples of an extensive literature, see Timothy Reuter, "The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), 347–74; Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)* (Wiesbaden and Stuttgart, 1984); Josef Fleckenstein, "Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche," in *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlaß des achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 83–98; Hartmut Hoffmann, "Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich, 936–1060," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte 100 (Mainz, 2000), pp. 79–127; Rudolf Schieffer, "Der ottonische Reichsepiskopat zwischen Königtum und Adel," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 291–301; idem, *Der geschichtliche Ort der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchenpolitik*, Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften Vorträge G352 (Opladen, 1998); Odilo Engels, "Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit," in *Beiträge zu Geschichte und Struktur der mittelalterlichen Germania sacra*, ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 135–75.

²⁶ Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 47 (Stuttgart, 2000); C. Stephen Jager, "The Courtier Bishop in *Vitae* from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 58 (1983), 291–325; idem, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985); John Nightingale, "Bishop Gerard of Toul (963–94) and Attitudes to Episcopal Office," in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 41–62.

and early Capetian kings of west Francia were unable to enforce an Ottonian-style centralized state outside of northern France, although within the Ile-de-France and neighboring territories they often exercised considerable influence over bishops.²⁷ In the regions far from Paris, the kings played little or no part in the choice of bishops in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and indeed the episcopate played a key role in the devolution of royal power to local lords and officials. Bishops have thus featured in regional studies of political and social transformation in France and Catalonia in this period.²⁸ In focusing on these developments, these works have done much to illuminate particular aspects of episcopal activity, especially their responsibilities as warriors, lords, and administrators, as well as the ways in which the episcopal office was used to create or support political power by giving both lands and legitimacy to certain families. Although the debate on how extensive social and political changes were in France in this period has been vigorous, all sides have seen bishops through this lens.²⁹ To take the movement of the Peace of God as an example: certain scholars have seen the Peace as episcopal resistance through ecclesiastical means to lay victimization of the church—victimization made possible by the

²⁷ On northern France, see Hoffmann, "Der König und seine Bischöfe"; Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes: Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, X^e-début XIII^e siècle)*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 30 (Geneva, 1987).

²⁸ The model is Georges Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953). For examples concerning southwest France, see André Debord, *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente, X^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1984); Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: La fin du monde antique?* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987). Some of these regional studies, of course, focus more on bishops than others; for particularly detailed coverage of the bishop's role, see Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIII^e à la fin du XI^e siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse—Le Mirail A20 (Toulouse, 1974), pp. 315–78.

²⁹ For a summary of the debate, see Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 142 (1994), 6–42; Dominique Barthélemy, Stephen D. White, Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham, and Thomas Bisson, "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present* 152 (1996), 196–223 and 155 (1997), 177–225. For examples of studies of the political ties of the bishops of France, see Jean-Louis Biget, "L'épiscopat de Rouergue et de l'Albigeois (X^e-XI^e siècle)," in *Catalunya i França meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet et al. (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 181–99; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Pariser historische Studien 17 (Bonn, 1981); Muriel Laharie, "Evêques et société en Périgord du X^e au milieu du XII^e siècle," *Annales du Midi* 94 (1982), 343–68.

slump in royal power. Others have seen the movement as an example of bishops joining counts and dukes to resist the rising power of castellans and shore up their own authority. Either way, the Peace movement, and the bishops who played a leading role in it, have primarily been understood as part of the political developments sometimes labeled as the “feudal revolution.”³⁰

The attention that bishops have received as a result of the pursuit of these fields of inquiry has resulted in a rich harvest of information, but there have also been disadvantages to this focus. The emphasis on the bishops’ role in the political transformations of Europe has concentrated attention on their secular activities, at the expense of other aspects of their office. This in turn seems to validate the central criticism of the papal reformers of the late eleventh century with regard to these bishops—that they were too worldly. Inadvertent credence has thus been given to the influential formulation put forward in a mid-twentieth-century survey of church history that echoed the opinions of those papal reformers: that the bishops of the tenth and early eleventh centuries were part of a “church in the hands of the laity,” a situation that would only change with the coming of the Gregorian Reform after 1049.³¹ What has been obscured by this scholarly focus is, first, that tenth-century bishops did much more than participate in political life, and second, that to judge tenth-century bishops by the criteria of the Reform papacy is to import anachronistic standards, making these bishops seem wanting by a measure they would not have recognized.

Recent scholarship has seen, if not a reaction against the political focus of most previous scholarship, at least a broadening of the aspects of episcopal office under consideration and a resolution to transform bishops from mere actors in the larger tale of political transformation to the focus of their own story. The most striking trends in this scholarship have been, first, the recognition of the centrality of the bishop to both the church and society of this period, and second, a repeated insistence on the complexity of the episcopal office. Historians have spoken of a “Europe of bishops”, of “bishops in the middle”, bishops as “prince and

³⁰ Barthélemy, *L’an mil et la paix de Dieu*, pp. 9–37, 301–6; see also below, chapter 3. For a broad range of studies on various aspects of the Peace, see Thomas Head and Richard Landes, eds., *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY, 1992).

³¹ Émile Amann and Auguste Dumas, *L’Église au pouvoir des laïques, 888–1057*, *L’histoire de l’Église depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours* 7, ed. Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin (Paris, 1948).

prelate", and the "ambiguous" nature of the episcopate.³² Furthermore, additional facets of the episcopate in this period, previously unexplored or under-studied, are coming under scrutiny, including bishops' architectural programs, liturgical functions and tools, and judicial responsibilities.³³ The overall effect has been a move away from generalizations about the nature of bishops in this period—which have proven to be as problematic as they are for any segment of medieval society³⁴—and toward in-depth studies of particular bishops, with a focus on local custom and circumstance and a goal of understanding this complex office through detailed exploration of concrete examples. As Thomas Head has written, "While this inherent ambiguity [of episcopal office] makes bishops difficult to define in absolute terms, it does not rule out the possibility of a thick description that provides some real precision."³⁵ And yet, to this point, full-length studies of the bishops of a particular region, providing just such description, remain rare.³⁶

³² Among the notable works are the following: Rosamond McKitterick, "The Church," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3: c. 900–c. 1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 130–62 at p. 130; Timothy Reuter, "Ein Europa der Bischöfe: Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, ed. Hartmann, pp. 1–28; Sean Gilsdorf, "Bishops in the Middle: Mediatory Politics and the Episcopacy," in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, pp. 51–73; Michel Parisse, "The Bishop: Prince and Prelate," in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, pp. 1–22, esp. pp. 1–3; idem, "Princes laïques et/ou moines: Les évêques du Xe siècle," *Il secolo di ferro: Mito e realtà del secolo X*, 19–25 aprile 1990, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 38 (Spoleto, 1991), pp. 449–516; Thomas Head, "Postscript: The Ambiguous Bishop," in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 250–64; Jeffrey A. Bowman, "The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees," *The Catholic Historical Review* 88 (2002), 1–16.

³³ See the essays in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, and *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, as well as: Maureen C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY, 2000); Eric Palazzo, *L'Évêque et son image: L'illustration du Pontifical au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 1999); Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 7 (Woodbridge, 2007).

³⁴ For explorations of the hazards inherent in generalizations about the ideals and actions of bishops in the era of papal reform, see, for example, John S. Ott, "'Both Mary and Martha': Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100," and John Eldevik, "Driving the Chariot of the Lord: Siegfried I of Mainz (1060–1084) and Episcopal Identity in an Age of Transition," both in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, pp. 137–60 and 161–88.

³⁵ Head, "The Ambiguous Bishop," in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, p. 253.

³⁶ There are certain examples of longer studies of individual bishops in this period, as well as collections of essays on regions: Steven Fanning, *A Bishop and His World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006–1047*, Transactions of the American

In order to offer a more complete understanding of the ideals and activities of bishops in this period, this book examines the episcopate of tenth- and early eleventh-century Aquitaine in depth. What emerges from close scrutiny of Aquitanian bishops such as Grimoard of Angoulême is the conviction that they held an office characterized by inherent tensions, which encompassed political responsibilities, the rule of land, the wielding of military might, the oversight of clergy and communities, and the performance of pastoral care. These bishops were aware of these tensions, making difficult choices between conflicting cares and occasionally leaving evidence of their worry over the consequences of those choices, both for their dioceses and for their own souls. Although the episcopate's multifarious responsibilities made it a challenging position to hold, they also made bishops the most prominent figures in the Aquitanian church. The bishops of tenth-century Aquitaine, unlike their brethren elsewhere in France, were in general untroubled by dissent from monastic reformers. Royal influence and papal power, while more visible at the very beginning and end of this period, were not threats to the bishops' authority. This is not to say that there was no change in the Aquitanian episcopate across this time period—indeed, I shall show that the year 975 marked a critical turning point in the bishops' relations with local lay authorities and with each other. However, it is true that episcopal authority, as expressed in ecclesiology and as observed in practice, was a defining feature of the Aquitanian church.

While tenth-century Aquitanian bishops responded to the exigencies of their particular time and place, they also stood within a long tradition of church law concerning the rights and demands of episcopal office. Church councils, beginning with the ecumenical gathering at Chalcedon in 451 and continuing at more circumscribed meetings in the early medieval west, had served to establish the extent of episcopal authority in various aspects of church governance.³⁷ The manuscript

Philosophical Society 78 (Philadelphia, 1988); Pierre Bouet and François Neveux, eds., *Les évêques normands du XI siècle: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (30 septembre–3 octobre 1993)* (Caen, 1995); Martín Aurell and Ángeles García de la Borbolla, eds., *La imagen del obispo hispano en la Edad Media* (Pamplona, 2004). Examples of monographs on the bishops of a particular region in this period include: Geneviève Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques et pouvoir dans le royaume de Germanie: Les Églises de Bavière et de Souabe, 876–973* (Paris, 1997); Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*.

³⁷ An overview is provided in Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1999), pp. 32–36.

of a canon law collection used by the bishops of Angoulême in the tenth and eleventh centuries illustrates their continuing interest in this tradition.³⁸ This codex contains ninth-century copies of a number of earlier texts, including the sixth-century collection of Saint-Maur;³⁹ the fifth-century collection known as the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, which contains instructions and rituals for ordaining a bishop;⁴⁰ and a section of the liturgical text known as the *Ordines Romani*.⁴¹ Further additions made in the tenth and early eleventh centuries attest to the continued use of the manuscript throughout our period.⁴² The most immediate and

³⁸ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis Latinus 1127. For descriptions of the manuscript, see Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 3 volumes (Paris, 1981), 1:xlxi–li; Thomas Head, “Peace and Power in France around the Year 1000,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23 (2006), 1–17 at pp. 7–8; Wilfried Hartmann, “Unbekannte Kanones aus dem Westfrankenreich des 10. Jahrhunderts,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 43 (1987), 28–45.

³⁹ On the collection of Saint-Maur, compiled in the sixth century, see Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 45–46.

⁴⁰ Critical editions of the *Statuta* are found in Charles Munier, ed., *Concilia Galliae a. 314–a. 506*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 148 (Turnhout, 1963), pp. 164–88; idem, *Les Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua: Édition, études critiques*, Bibliothèque de l’Institut de droit canonique de l’Université de Strasbourg 5 (Paris, 1960). The manuscript in question contains two copies of the prologue (ff. 15r–16r and 159r–v) plus canons 1–17, excluding canon 11 (f. 159v).

⁴¹ For a description of the *Ordines* found in this manuscript, see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense: Études et documents* 11 (Louvain, 1931), pp. 322–23. Andrieu errs in stating that the selection is found on ff. 52v–56v of BAV 1127; it is in fact found on 52r–55r. For the text see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 3, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense: Études et documents* 24 (Louvain, 1951), pp. 95–112. It is worth noting that Ademar of Chabannes made use of both the *Statuta* text copied from this manuscript and another section of the *Ordines Romani*. Both were copied into a personal collection of documents that centered around the theme of episcopal ordination, found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 2400: Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 120–21; Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud, “Influence des Vies de saints sur le développement des institutions,” in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IV^e–XII^e siècles: Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 491–513 at pp. 497–501. Ademar was apparently interested in introducing an alternative to the Gallican rite used to ordain bishops, which was represented at Angoulême by the cathedral’s eighth-century sacramentary: Patrick Saint-Roch, ed., *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 159C (Turnhout, 1987), esp. pp. 312–27.

⁴² The final pages of the manuscript contain certain unidentified council decrees (Hartmann, “Unbekannte Kanones”), the only surviving copies of the acts of the two earliest Aquitanian Peace councils (Charroux 989 and Poitiers 1000/1014, on f. 161r–v), and an agreement made by Bishop Hugh of Angoulême (f. 165v) (see below, chapter 3, pp. 89–90). The manuscript also includes copies of material from the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, a ninth-century text committed to the assertion of episcopal authority: Head, “Peace and Power,” pp. 7–8; on the surviving manuscript of Pseudo-Isidore from the

influential precedent for tenth-century Aquitanian bishops, however, was the vision of the episcopate promulgated in the Carolingian era, which in turn drew on earlier church law. On many key issues, such as the appropriate relationship of bishops to lay rulers or the nature of episcopal authority over monasteries, Aquitanian bishops followed the path of the Carolingian episcopate. Let us turn, then, to the development of the duchy of Aquitaine and the activities of its bishops in the preceding centuries.

Aquitaine and Its Bishops in the Carolingian Era

After the conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar, the Romans organized the southwest of France into two administrative regions, *Aquitania Prima*, with its capital at Bourges, and *Aquitania Secunda*, centered at Bordeaux. As Rome lost political control over the farther-flung reaches of its empire, Aquitaine became part of the kingdom of the Visigoths, who ruled until the conquest of the region by Clovis and the Franks in 507.⁴³ More than two centuries later, the Carolingian family's prominence in Aquitaine began when Charles Martel was called upon to repulse the movement of Muslim forces from across the Pyrenees, an effort that culminated at the decisive Battle of Poitiers in 732.⁴⁴ Charles's son, Pepin

monastery of Charroux in Aquitaine (Beinecke Library no. 442) see Barbara Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 4 volumes (Binghamton, NY, 1984–2004), 2:381–95.

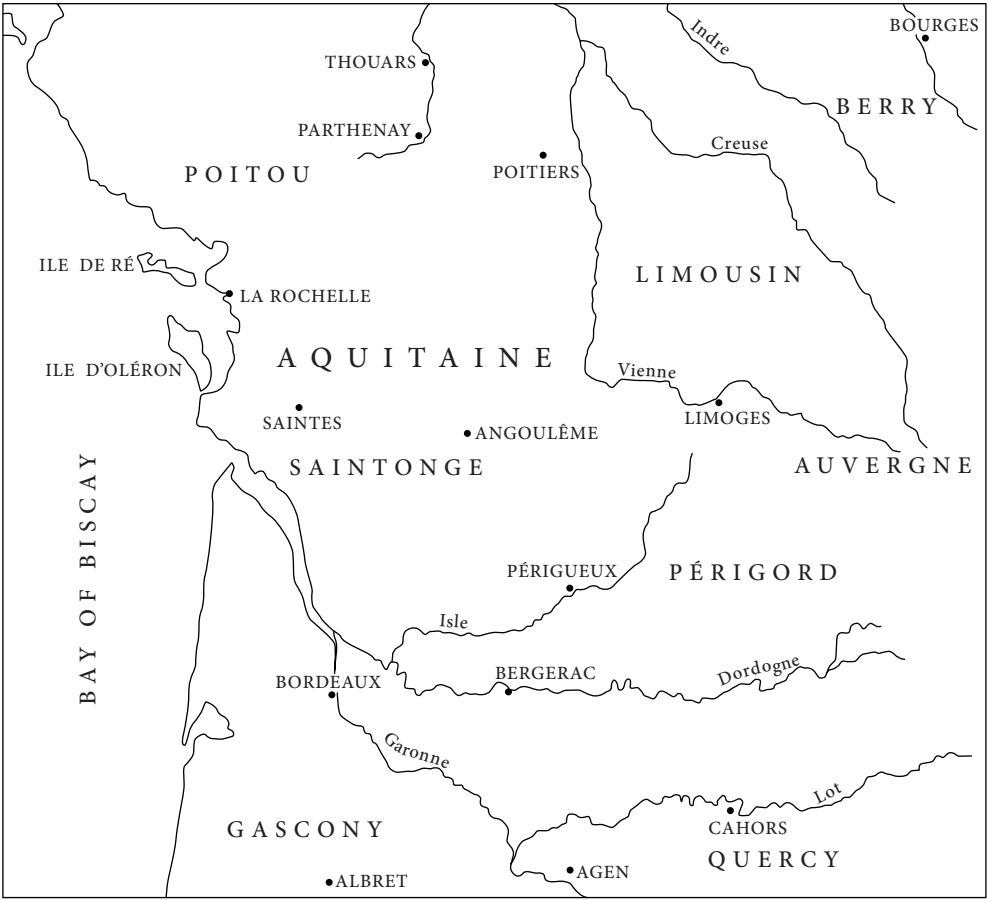
⁴³ On the history of Aquitaine under the Romans, Visigoths, and Merovingians, see J. Boussard, "L'Ouest du royaume franc aux VII^e et VIII^e siècles," *Journal des Savants* (1973), 3–27; Michel Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781: Naissance d'une région* (Paris, 1979); Antoine Lebègue, *Histoire des Aquitains* (Bordeaux, 1992), pp. 33–70; Marcel Garaud, "L'occupation du Poitou par les Visigoths," *BSAO* 3rd series, 13 (1942–1945), 548–63.

⁴⁴ On the Carolingian government of Aquitaine, the starting point remains Léonce Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne, 778–987* (Toulouse and Paris, 1937); see also Roger Collins, "Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), pp. 363–89; Jan Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France, IX–X^e siècle* (Bruges, 1948), pp. 169–217; Jane Martindale, "Charles the Bald and the Government of the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, 2nd edition, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 115–38; eadem, "The Kingdom of Aquitaine and the 'Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc,'" *Francia* 11 (1983), 131–91; Philippe Wolff, "L'Aquitaine et ses marges," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1: *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 269–306.

the Short, who would be the first of the Carolingian line to hold the title of King of the Franks, initiated a systematic conquest of the region as far south as the river Garonne, which would continue to be the crucial boundary between Aquitaine and the region of Gascony through the tenth and eleventh centuries. Pepin's son, Charlemagne, created the kingdom of Aquitaine around 779 for his newborn heir, the future Louis the Pious. The Carolingian kingdom encompassed more territory than would the duchy of the tenth century: its borders were roughly defined by the Loire and Rhône rivers, and it included the regions of Septimania and Catalonia. This kingdom would endure for less than a century, however, vanishing in 877 after the death of Charlemagne's grandson, Emperor Charles the Bald, and the succession of his only surviving heir (and the last king of Aquitaine), Louis the Stammerer, to the throne of west Francia. The ancient Roman division of *Aquitania Prima* and *Secunda*, meanwhile, would survive throughout this period in the ecclesiastical organization of the region, as the bishops of Aquitaine were ruled by two metropolitans, in Bourges and Bordeaux.

While statements on the nature of episcopal office are rare and usually indirect in tenth-century Aquitaine, a clear blueprint for the office was laid out in the Carolingian era through capitulary legislation. Decrees such as the *Capitulare episcoporum*, the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, and the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* (also known as the *Capitula proprie ad episcopos*) of 818–819, drew on earlier church law and, in a manner that would be characteristic of Carolingian rule, brought the authority of the Frankish kings and emperors to bear on regulating the church.⁴⁵ Bishops were to be elected canonically by the clergy and

⁴⁵ *Capitulare episcoporum* in *Capitula regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Legum 2, 2 volumes (Hannover 1883–1897), 1:51–52; *Admonitio Generalis*, in *ibid.*, 1:52–62; *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* (818–819), in *ibid.*, 1:275–80. There has been disagreement as to the date of the *Capitulare episcoporum*. Boretius dated it to ca. 780 in his edition. François-Louis Ganshof, meanwhile, argued for 792/793: “Notes sur deux capitulaires non datés de Charlemagne,” in *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, 2 volumes (Brussels and Paris, 1947), 1:123–33 at pp. 123–28. Hubert Mordek followed Ganshof's assessment in an earlier work (*Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrscherurkunde*, MGH Hilfsmittel 15 [Munich, 1995], pp. 402, 789, and elsewhere) but recently made an argument to date the document to 778/779: “Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular von Herstal und die Hungersnot der Jahre 778/779,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 61 (2005), 1–52. On the *Admonitio Generalis* and its incorporation of substantial portions of the *Dionysio-Hadriana* collection, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), pp. 1–7.



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people without any hint of simony.⁴⁶ Once in office, their duties were many, as summed up in a final chapter of the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*: they must preach to the people of their diocese; supervise their clergy; ensure correct missals, lectionaries, and other liturgical books; rebuild churches; teach widows; eradicate superstition; and lead by the example of their own pure lives.⁴⁷ The Carolingian decrees emphasize church hierarchy and appropriate jurisdiction, as bishops were called on to respect the authority of their archbishop and refrain from meddling in other bishops' dioceses.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the Carolingians were keen that church regulations be clearly understood and promulgated by bishops through regular councils, instruction of the lower clergy, and attentive care for the diocese to which they had been ordained.⁴⁹ The quality of that clergy—both regular and secular—was to be strictly supervised by bishops, and malefactors were to be removed from the ranks.⁵⁰ Finally, the role of bishops in pastoral care was underlined; aspects of this broad mandate that were emphasized included saying prayers for the king and the people, supporting the poor, and guiding their flock through preaching.⁵¹ These regulations reflect general Carolingian concerns for proper religious and social organization and the dissemination and standardization of correct belief. Bishops were indispensable, in this formulation, as overseers of the behavior of both the clergy and the laity in their dioceses.

Turning to the evidence for the activities of particular Aquitanian bishops in the Carolingian era, much can be found that is familiar to the scholar of tenth-century prelates. To give just one example, Carolingian bishops of Aquitaine were involved in various ways with religious communities in their dioceses, acquiring privileges for houses, making grants, or serving as temporary abbots. However, there is a key difference between Aquitanian bishops in this period and their later colleagues: their involvement with the emperors and their activity throughout the Carolingian realm. The bishops of the tenth and early eleventh centuries generally worked in their own dioceses or at most within the boundaries of Aquitaine and its direct neighbors, as I shall

⁴⁶ *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, cc. 2, 16.

⁴⁷ *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, c. 28.

⁴⁸ *Admonitio Generalis*, cc. 8, 11, 44, 56.

⁴⁹ *Admonitio Generalis*, cc. 12–13, 41–42.

⁵⁰ *Admonitio Generalis*, cc. 2, 14, 50, 52, 55, 57–58; *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, c. 17.

⁵¹ *Capitulare episcoporum*; *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, c. 19.

argue in chapter three. Carolingian bishops of Aquitaine, however, had wider horizons.

While tenth-century bishops would seek privileges for religious houses from the dukes, Carolingian bishops, reflecting their links with the imperial court, went to the emperors with such requests.⁵² The bishops of Aquitaine frequently held positions of influence in other parts of the Carolingian Empire: Ebroin of Poitiers, for example, was arch-chaplain for Charles the Bald and abbot of Saint-Germain des Prés.⁵³ His predecessor, Fridebestus of Poitiers, served as a key advisor to King Pepin I of Aquitaine, as Launus of Angoulême would later do for Pepin's son.⁵⁴ The Carolingian bishops of Aquitaine regularly associated with some of the leading lights of the Carolingian era. Ebroin of Poitiers received a request for mediation—and the gift of an ivory comb—from Lupus of Ferrières.⁵⁵ Helias of Angoulême, meanwhile, was a student of Theodulf of Orléans.⁵⁶ Bishops participated in the political struggles that rent the Empire during the reigns of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald; in particular, Ebroin of Poitiers was a notable supporter of Louis and Charles against Aquitanian rebels, and he may well have paid for this loyalty with his life.⁵⁷ Carolingian connections with the papacy meant that Aquitanian bishops had more frequent contact with the popes than would their later colleagues.⁵⁸ Finally, striking evidence

⁵² For examples of a widespread phenomenon, see: Georges Tessier et al., eds., *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 3 volumes, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1943–1955), no. 149 (pp. 395–99); *Nouaillé* 6 (pp. 8–10); *Saint-Hilaire* 5 (pp. 7–8); *Saint-Étienne* 87 (pp. 100–2), 89 (pp. 103–5), 92–93 (pp. 107–10).

⁵³ Ebroin is given the title of arch-chaplain in the following documents: Tessier et al., eds., *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve*, nos. 78–79 (pp. 219–23), 88 (pp. 238–41), 97 (pp. 257–60), and 134 (pp. 354–56); his title of abbot of Saint-Germain appears in no. 88. For more on Ebroin, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969), 138–210; Léon Levillain, “L’archichapelain Ebroin, évêque de Poitiers,” *Le Moyen Âge* 34 (1923), 177–215.

⁵⁴ *Saint-Hilaire* 5 (pp. 7–8); *Historia pontificum*, c. 7, pp. 4–5.

⁵⁵ Lupus of Ferrières, MGH *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 4, ed. Ernst Perels (Berlin, 1925), letter 39, p. 47.

⁵⁶ *Historia pontificum*, c. 8, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. and trans. Ernst Tremp, in MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 64 (Hannover, 1995), c. 61, pp. 532–40; on the death of Ebroin, see Levillain, “L’archichapelain Ebroin,” pp. 209–14; Oexle, “Bischof Ebroin,” pp. 189–91. See also Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l’entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)*, Instrumenta herausgegeben vom deutschen historischen Institut Paris 1 (Sigmaringen, 1997), pp. 174–76.

⁵⁸ Examples include a letter of Leo IV to Ebroin of Poitiers, in MGH *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1899), p. 606; a letter of Nicholas I to Frotier of Bordeaux, in MGH *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 4, ed. Perels, pp. 662–63; and letters of John VIII to various Aquitanian bishops, in Erich Caspar, ed., *Registrum*

for the bishops' involvement in the wider Carolingian church in this period lies in their presence at numerous church councils throughout the empire. While it is rare to find tenth-century bishops meeting in council with clerics from outside Aquitaine, in the Carolingian era it was a regular occurrence.⁵⁹

Despite these differences between Carolingian bishops and their later counterparts, it is important to recognize the continuity between the two groups, as the Carolingian model of episcopal office served as an important template for later centuries. For my purposes, the two most significant areas of continuity are in the bishops' relations to religious houses and their involvement with laymen. Tenth-century bishops took multiple roles at religious houses, from abbot to advisor, judge to benefactor. What is noteworthy, in light of the misgivings about this kind of involvement expressed by contemporary reformers in other regions of France, is that in Aquitaine such roles were seen as acceptable and even laudable, echoing a Carolingian view of bishops as supervisors of their clergy that in turn drew on venerable canonical tradition. As for bishops' relations with laymen, there is a clear change in the level of involvement with royal power between the two periods. However, in the late tenth century, the bishops would begin to collaborate with the most powerful lay magnate in the region, the duke of Aquitaine, on efforts both small (individual donations or privileges) and large (the Peace of God). While it has been argued that this cooperation was a function of ducal and episcopal response to social unrest and political change, it must also be emphasized that in working together to ensure the safety and correct observance of the church, the dukes and bishops of the late tenth and eleventh centuries were hearkening back to the Carolingian model of church governance.

Scope, Sources, and Organization of This Study

After the dissolution of the Carolingian subkingdom in the 870s, the geographical scope of the now independent duchy of Aquitaine

Iohannis VIII papae, in MGH Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5, ed. Paul Kehr (Berlin, 1928), pp. 37, 88, 97–98.

⁵⁹ Again, there are many such cases. Examples include the council of Tusey (860), Pitres-Soissons (862), and Pitres (864): *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 860–874*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Concilia 4 (Hannover, 1998); for names of bishops see pp. 21–22, 113–14, and 173–74, respectively.

remained fluid for several decades. The ducal title was held first by the comital family of Auvergne—most famously by Duke William I the Pious, who founded the monastery of Cluny in his lands in Burgundy.⁶⁰ When the Auvergne lineage disappeared in 927 with the death of William the Pious's youngest nephew, Acfred, the ducal title was contested for a time between the counts of Toulouse and those of Poitou. The Poitou family, who were distant cousins of the Auvergne dukes, eventually prevailed, and Count William Tow-Head was the first of the Poitou lineage to use the ducal title.⁶¹ While the dukes of the Auvergne family had ruled Aquitaine from a power base in the old Roman region of *Aquitania Prima*, with lands in Auvergne and Burgundy, the new dukes ruled from Poitiers, and their realm stretched across *Aquitania Secunda*, from Poitou in the north to the Garonne in the south, from the Atlantic coast in the west to the Limousin and Périgord in the east.

These borders, which defined the political boundaries of Aquitaine for the tenth and eleventh centuries, coincided roughly with six ecclesiastical dioceses: those ruled by the archbishops of Bordeaux and the bishops of Angoulême, Périgueux, Poitiers, Saintes, and Limoges. This is, in terms of ecclesiastical organization, an awkward grouping, due to the inclusion of the bishops of Limoges, who were suffragans of Bourges, and the omission of the bishops of Agen, who were suffragans of Bordeaux. However, the resulting group of six dioceses, although it did not correspond neatly to one ecclesiastical province, lay within the territory circumscribed by the power of dukes of Aquitaine for much of this period.⁶² The bishops of Limoges appeared very rarely with

⁶⁰ On the formation of the duchy of Aquitaine, see Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 389–518; Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance*, pp. 204–29. On the relations of the Robertian and early Capetian kings with Aquitaine, see Jean-Pierre Brunterc'h, "Naissance et affirmation des principautés au temps du roi Eudes: L'exemple de l'Aquitaine," in *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers Capétiens*, ed. Olivier Guillot and Robert Favreau (Poitiers, 1997), pp. 69–116; Robert Favreau, "Carolingiens et Robertiens de la fin du IXe à la fin du Xe siècle: L'avènement de la dynastie capétienne et le nord de l'Aquitaine," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, pp. 159–89.

⁶¹ On the counts of Auvergne in this period and the transition of the ducal title from the Auvergne family to the Poitevin family, see Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges*, pp. 66–86. On the counts of Poitou/dukes of Aquitaine, see Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778–1204*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1903); Michel Rouche, "Les princes d'Aquitaine et leur pouvoir autour de l'an mille," *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens*, ed. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier (Maulevrier, 1992), pp. 79–96.

⁶² The close association of the see of Limoges and the dukes of Aquitaine began with the appointment of Duke William Tow-Head's brother, Ebles, as bishop in 944;

their fellow suffragans of Bourges in this era, as they functioned as *de facto* members of the archdiocese of Bordeaux.⁶³ The bishops of Agen, meanwhile, were absent from any gatherings with the other suffragans of Bordeaux; rather, they were part of the political and ecclesiastical world of Gascony.⁶⁴ These six dioceses, linked by both ecclesiastical organization and political reality, thus formed a cohesive unit, and it is these bishops who will feature in this study.

The chronological scope of this book—the years from ca. 877–ca. 1050—encompasses an era sometimes referred to as the “long tenth century,” which was long seen as a dark time between two periods of effervescent activity: the Carolingian era on the one hand and the decades of ecclesiastical reform, intellectual ferment, and economic revival that marked the late eleventh century on the other.⁶⁵ This book, therefore, aims not only to investigate the nature of the episcopal office, but to shed light on this understudied period as a whole. I take as my starting point the death of Emperor Charles the Bald in 877, which marked a key moment of change in Aquitaine. Although subsequent Carolingian, Robertian, and Capetian kings would appear in Aquitaine, and royal authority would occasionally be invoked in documents from the region, Charles’s death marked the end of the Carolingian kingdom of Aquitaine and, to a great extent, of the power of the kings of France in the region—certainly it saw the end of the close attachment between the bishops of Aquitaine and the kings that characterized the Carolingian era. The end of the period considered here is the advent of

subsequently, Bishops Hilduin, Gerald and Jordan would be chosen by the dukes. See chapter 3 below for a full discussion of this issue.

⁶³ This is particularly true from the reign of Ebles (944–ca. 977) onward. An example of the bishops of Limoges acting with the other suffragans of Bourges was the consecration of the monastery of Dol in 917, at which Ebles’s predecessor, Turpio (r. 898–944), appeared with Archbishop Gerontius of Bourges and Bishop Arnold of Clermont (*Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1720; repr. Westmead, 1970), Instrumenta col. 43).

⁶⁴ On Agen’s absence from Peace Councils, see Thomas Head, “The Development of the Peace,” p. 684 n. 130. On the bishops of Agen and their relations with the princes and bishops of Gascony in this period, see Robert-André Sénac, “L’évêché de Gascogne et ses évêques,” *Actes du 104e Congrès national des sociétés savants*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1981), 2:131–44; idem, “Essai de géographie et d’histoire de l’évêché de Gascogne (977–1059),” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Année 1980* (Paris, 1982), pp. 11–25; Renée Mussot-Goulard, *Les Princes de Gascogne, 768–1060* (Marsolan, 1982), pp. 125–86.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of this long-held view of the tenth century and its flaws, see Timothy Reuter, “Introduction: Reading the Tenth Century,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, ed. Reuter, pp. 1–24.

the papal reform movement, which began with the election of Pope Leo IX in 1049, and which would attempt to redefine many aspects of the episcopate.⁶⁶ Of course, when dealing with the lifespan of human beings, it is hard to maintain precise starting and ending dates. In each diocese, therefore, I have begun with the bishop whose consecration fell closest to 877 and ended with the bishop who died in the late 1030s or 1040s (in the latest case, with the death of Jordan of Limoges in 1051).

Any regional study is of course shaped by the nature of the surviving evidence. Aquitaine has some regrettable gaps in the source base for this period, when compared with areas to the north and east. None of its bishops from the long tenth century inspired full-length biographies, thus denying us the insights into conceptions of ideal bishops provided by the *vitae* of the eastern Frankish territories and northern France.⁶⁷ Furthermore, although the tenth century saw the development of the pontifical, a liturgical book intended particularly for the bishop, there are none surviving from Aquitaine in this period.⁶⁸ Finally, this era

⁶⁶ For an overview of the late eleventh-century reform and related scholarship, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988); Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1993). Examples of associations between Aquitanian bishops and the reform papacy include: Arnulf of Saintes, who became bishop in 1038, attended Leo IX's council in Rome in 1050 (*Gallia Christiana* 2:1061–62; Tellenbach, p. 139); and William II of Angoulême (ca. 1047–1076), who attended a council at Bordeaux in 1068 presided over by a cardinal legate of Alexander II (*Gallia Christiana* 2:993–94; Odette Pontal, *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu'en 1215* [Paris, 1995], p. 172). Aquitanian bishops had only participated in papal councils in extraordinarily rare instances heretofore; this increased activity was presumably the result of increased theoretical and practical authority on the part of the papacy.

⁶⁷ Jaeger, “The Courtier Bishop”; Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*; and for a slightly later period, the work of John S. Ott, including “Educating the Bishop: Models of Episcopal Authority and Conduct in the Hagiography of Early Twelfth-Century Soissons,” in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 8 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 217–53. On Aquitanian hagiography of an earlier era, see Joseph-Claude Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne d'après les sources hagiographiques (750–950)* (Quebec City, 1975), esp. pp. 64–67 on bishops.

⁶⁸ For discussion of the development of the pontifical, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen, *Studies in Church Music and Liturgy* (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 225–39; Palazzo, *L'Évêque et son image*, pp. 27–50. There exists a text long referred to as the “Pontifical of Poitiers,” but modern scholarship has shown that this manuscript was not in fact made in or for Aquitaine; for a summary of scholarship and conclusions, see Aldo Martini, ed., *Il cosiddetto Pontificale di Poitiers* (Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, cod. 227*), *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior, fontes* 14 (Rome, 1979), introduction,

saw the production of a number of important collections of canon law, some of which—the collections of Regino of Prüm, Burchard of Worms, and Abbo of Fleury in particular—were specifically aimed at defining, aiding, or limiting the office of bishop.⁶⁹ Aquitaine did not produce any such collections, although Abbo's collection was known in the region.⁷⁰ In other genres, however, Aquitaine is rich in evidence for bishops of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Surviving conciliar acts, although far less abundant than in the Carolingian era, provide important information on the councils of the Peace of God. Three major narrative sources cover this period, most notably the chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes, written in the early eleventh century.⁷¹ Two twelfth-century chronicles drew from Ademar and other sources to write their histories: the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, written at the titular monastery near Poitiers, and the *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, composed by a canon or canons of the cathedral of Angoulême and providing short biographies of all the bishops of this era.⁷² In using these chronicles, I remain conscious both of the chronological distance separating some of them from the bishops who are my focus and of the agendas that inform their accounts, as I discussed above with regard to their descriptions of Grimoard of Angoulême. Despite these reservations, these narratives have much to offer in filling out the picture of episcopal office in this period, although in general (and where possible) I privilege contemporary diplomatic sources.

Indeed, the real wealth of Aquitanian evidence lies in its charter record. Hundreds of documents survive from Aquitanian religious houses, some in original form, some in cartularies, and some in copies made by early modern scholars. These constitute the most important body of sources for Aquitanian bishops in this period. The fact that the

pp. 54–62. There is, however, liturgical material surviving from Aquitaine in the form of a copy of the *Ordines Romani*—see above, n. 41.

⁶⁹ For an overview of episcopal involvement in the creation and use of canon law in this period, see Greta Austin, “Bishops and Religious Law, 900–1050,” in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, pp. 40–57.

⁷⁰ On the single surviving manuscript of Abbo's collection, copied by Ademar of Chabannes, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 362–65.@@

⁷¹ Ademar, *Chronicon*; Book 3 covers the events of this period.

⁷² See the introductions by Jean Verdon (*Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*) and Jacques Boussard (*Historia pontificum*) for the composition of these texts. Other narrative sources, including Pierre de Maillezais's account of the founding of Maillezais, the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, the *Fragmenta de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, and the work of Bernard Gui, are used much more infrequently and will be discussed below.

majority of our evidence about bishops exists in this particular form, and comes from religious communities, shapes what we know about these bishops: most of the chapters in this book focus on episcopal interactions with religious houses, ranging from their own cathedrals to communities of monks or canons both inside and outside their dioceses. Yet these charters also open up wider vistas of episcopal activity. For example, because lay lords also gave to religious houses, or witnessed donations by others, we can track the involvement of the bishops with certain key political figures through witness-lists and other mentions in these documents.

Furthermore, as I have argued elsewhere, charters are susceptible to the mining of a different type of information than the logistics of gift-giving and witnessing.⁷³ Charters, particularly those recording major donations, often contain substantial elaboration by the donors on their reasons for giving the gift. In the cases of gifts made by bishops or involving the advice and support of bishops, these passages contain meditations on the bishop's activities and his hopes for the fate of his soul.⁷⁴ Through careful use of such evidence, we can achieve insight—even without the luxury of episcopal *vitae* or treatises on episcopal office—into the ideals, expectations, and concerns that surrounded the office of bishop in this period. The apprehension that

⁷³ Anna Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion: Charters and Canons in Aquitaine, 876–1050," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York, 2007), pp. 81–90, esp. pp. 83–85. Several recent collections have explored new aspects of charter and cartulary evidence: Marie-José Gasse-Grandjean and Benoît-Michel Tock, eds., *Les actes comme expression du pouvoir au Haut Moyen Âge: Actes de la Table Ronde de Nancy, 26–27 novembre 1999*, Atelier de recherches sur les textes médiévaux 5 (Turnhout, 2003); Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth, eds., *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, Papers in Mediaeval Studies 17 (Toronto, 2002); Karl Heidecker, ed., *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 5 (Turnhout, 2000); Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse, eds., *Les cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)*, Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 39 (Paris, 1993).

⁷⁴ As examples of using charters in this way, see Joseph Avril, "La fonction épiscopale dans le vocabulaire des chartes (X^e–XII^e siècles)," in *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels (V^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Henri Dubois, Jean-Claude Hocquet, and André Vauchez, 2 volumes (Paris, 1987), 1:125–33; idem, "Observance monastique et spiritualité dans les préambules des actes (X^e–XIII^e siècles)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 85 (1990), 5–29; Käthe Sonnleitner, "Die Darstellung des bischöflichen Selbstverständnisses in den Urkunden des Mittelalters: Am Beispiel des Erzbistums Salzburg und der Bistümer Passau und Gurk bis 1250," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 37 (1991), 155–305.

such documents cannot give us insight into the true feelings of the donor because they merely repeat formulaic phrases is unfounded on two levels. First, some of these passages are not formulaic but rather unique to the document in question. Second, the ubiquity of formulaic phrases does not render them meaningless. Rather, these phrases—like the well-worn exchanges in a marriage ceremony—allowed medieval people to express their deeply-held emotions in time-honored ways.⁷⁵ The concern evinced by medieval men and women to preserve these important records only reinforces the conviction that charters have a wide range of evidence to offer the historian.⁷⁶

The first two chapters of this study examine the bishop in two key contexts. Chapter two looks at the complex organization of the properties of the bishop's church—the cathedral—and the relations between the bishops and the canons who served there. In it I argue that despite scholarly focus on the increasing autonomy of the canonical holdings across this period, a better understanding of the nature of the cathedral church is dependent on a more fluid sense of cathedral land and community among those serving the church. Chapter three examines the relations between bishops of Aquitaine and lay magnates of the region, ranging from the bishops' own families to local lords to the dukes themselves. I argue that these relations reached a critical turning point in 975, when bishops moved away from a previous pattern of strictly local involvement toward more close cooperation with the dukes and with their Aquitanian episcopal colleagues, notably in the Peace of God movement.

The final three chapters turn to the interactions between bishops and religious houses. Chapter four examines episcopal authority at these communities and finds that bishops acted as abbots, informal rulers, and judges. I argue that bishops' involvement stemmed both from their office and from other ties to these houses, and that, despite

⁷⁵ For discussion of this principle in relation to a later era, see Erin Jordan, "A Clash of Wills: Religious Patronage and the *Vita Apostolica* in Thirteenth-Century Flanders," in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamrozak and Janet Burton, *Europa Sacra* 2 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 241–61 at pp. 247–48.

⁷⁶ For examples of contemporary expressions of the importance of written documentation of gifts and settlements, see *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62) and 104 (pp. 172–74); the use of documents to assert rights or privileges can be seen in an account of a court case before Bishop Alboin of Poitiers, in which the timely production of a charter containing a privilege carried the day (*Saint-Cyprien* 184 [pp. 118–19]).

protestations concerning episcopal involvement in monasteries that came from certain monastic reformers in this period, such involvement was generally seen in Aquitaine as correct and even beneficial. Chapter five considers episcopal participation in the restoration and reform of religious houses, examining the circumstances that led to the need for such restorations, at whose request the bishops intervened, and what roles they played in the process of rebuilding or reform. Finally, chapter six considers episcopal donations to religious communities, considering both the mechanics of such donations—to whom they were given, from what source, and so on—and also the reasons why. The latter question gives us particular insight into the thinking of bishops and others on the nature and challenges of episcopal office. This leads to the concluding chapter, which discusses the ideals of episcopal behavior prevalent in tenth-century Aquitaine.

Recovering the actions and the thinking of tenth-century bishops, as well as the responses to them from contemporaries, is a challenging endeavor. Despite the relative richness of certain sources, there is no denying the gaps that exist and the tantalizing hints that are left unelaborated. Nonetheless, it is important that we reconstruct what we can: it has become an oft-repeated truism that bishops have not received the scholarly attention that their importance in medieval society warrants. In turn, a better knowledge of the tenth-century bishop, because of his involvement in both the secular and spiritual realms, casts light on key questions that concern historians of this period. How did political systems in France transform after the decline of Carolingian royal authority? What ideals governed the church in this period, and how did its members behave in reality? How were intersections between secular and religious power, or public and private authority, negotiated? By bringing tenth-century bishops back to the center of focus, we not only recover more information about a key figure in medieval society, but also gain a unique opportunity to understand better what is emerging as a crucial period in the formation of medieval Europe.

CHAPTER TWO

AD LOCUM SANCTUM, AD STIPENDIA FRATRUM: THE BISHOP AND HIS CATHEDRAL

In a short document from 1018, issued in the throes of an illness believed to be his last, Bishop Grimoard of Angoulême admitted that he needed to make amends to the canons of his cathedral of Saint-Pierre because he had behaved improperly regarding land belonging to the brothers. The property in question, which included vineyards and houses, had been left to the canons in the will of a man named Gerucius. Grimoard had taken the lands from the canons' possession and held them as if they were his own. Now, however, sick and fearful, Grimoard acknowledged the injustice of his actions, returned Gerucius's grant to its rightful recipients, and forbade anyone from interfering with the gift in the future.¹

Grimoard's recompense to the canons raises a number of issues about the role of the bishop in the institution with which he was most closely associated: the cathedral. The first questions concern the nature of cathedral property. According to Grimoard, Gerucius had donated his assets specifically to the canons of Saint-Pierre, *in usibus fratrum*. This suggests that the canons in eleventh-century Angoulême had estates distinct from those of the bishop, although other contemporary documents suggest otherwise, pointing to a shared set of lands. Furthermore, when Grimoard wrote that he had usurped the lands for his own uses, *usibus meis quasi propriis*, did he mean that he held them in the episcopal domain—as a function of his office—or as a private individual? Would he, indeed, have made a distinction between these two possibilities, given that early medieval property-holding has been shown to be complex in its recognition of multiple claims of ownership and in the blurring of the lines between public and private property?² Charters such as Grimoard's present an opportunity to investigate how

¹ Angoulême 8 (p. 10).

² Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, NY, 1989), chapter 4, esp. pp. 112–15; Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, eds., *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 260–66.

those affiliated with the cathedral organized their assets and negotiated between both official and private claims and between the estates of the canons and the bishop.

A second, related cluster of questions prompted by Grimoard's document concerns the relations between different members of the cathedral community. Grimoard described the changing nature of his relationship to the canons, from his appropriation of their land to his attempt at reconciliation; another document from the latter years of his reign saw Grimoard act as benefactor of the canons, turning over to them an altar in the cathedral and its attendant properties, income, and rights.³ Were these changes of fortune typical of episcopal behavior toward cathedral canons and their land in this period? Furthermore, the cathedral community did not simply include the bishop and canons, but also, the documents make clear, the church itself and the saint to whom it was dedicated. How were the interests of these four separate yet interrelated constituencies balanced? How did donors choose to allocate their gifts between them?

The cathedral must have loomed large in the lives of tenth- and eleventh-century Aquitanian bishops. Their religious duties and power centered on the liturgy performed at its altar and on their control of the relics of its patron saint. Their secular authority stemmed in part from the cathedral estates and incomes they commanded. The canons would have been their advisors and, in some cases, their companions of longstanding—many bishops had served as canons in their cathedral before their elevation to the see. Despite all the attention that has been garnered by other aspects of the bishop's office in this period, he was, first and foremost, the head of a church and a clergy, a role in which he has been relatively little studied.⁴

³ Angoulême 77 (pp. 71–73).

⁴ Existing literature (which often focuses on earlier or later periods) includes: Odilo Engels, "Episkopat und Kanonie im mittelalterlichen Katalonien," in Engels, *Reconquista und Landesherrschaft: Studien zur Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte Spaniens im Mittelalter*, Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, Heft 53 (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 149–201; Paul Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), esp. chapter 2; Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis* (Cambridge, 1994); Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition (Manchester, 1967); Edward Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951); Maureen C. Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), esp. pp. 42–50, 100, 111, 124–27; Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, pp. 80–85; Rudolf Schieffer,

The most significant medieval regulatory sources on cathedral canons do not give extensive detail on the appropriate nature of the relationship between the canons and their bishop. The *Rule of Augustine*, probably written for Augustine's church at Hippo and adopted in many cathedrals in the High Middle Ages, speaks of a "superior" of the community and of a priest with responsibility for the canons, without giving many specifics regarding who these men should be and what their duties are.⁵ The *Rule of Chrodegang*, composed in the eighth century by the bishop of Metz to regulate the life of his cathedral clergy, shows by its very existence that a bishop was to supervise his community of canons. The bishop appears regularly in Chrodegang's text as an authority—along with the archdeacon and *primicerius*—who can make rulings and allow exceptions to certain regulations.⁶ The legislation promulgated at Aachen in 816, which drew in part on Chrodegang's *Rule*, also emphasized the bishop's role as a judge of his canons.⁷ Little detail is given in these

Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland, Bonner historische Forschungen 43 (Bonn, 1976). In recent general surveys of the period, however, canons as a whole, and cathedral canons in particular, merit little mention: see, for example, McKitterick, "The Church," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, ed. Reuter, pp. 130–62.

⁵ A discussion of the manuscript tradition of the *Rule of Augustine* (consisting of the *Ordo Monasterii* and the *Praeceptum*) and a critical edition of the text are found in Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, vol. 1: *Tradition manuscrite* (Paris, 1967), pp. 148–52 and 417–37. For the section on the superior, see chapter 7 of the *Praeceptum*, pp. 435–36. For a translation, see: Augustine of Hippo, "The Rule of St. Augustine," in *Augustine of Hippo: Selected Writings*, ed. and trans. Mary T. Clark, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1984), pp. 481–93. On Augustine's vision of community life, see Adolar Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York, 1986), esp. chapter 9; George Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987).

⁶ For a recent edition and translation of both Chrodegang's *Rule* and the legislation of the council at Aachen in 816, see Jerome Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot, 2005); for an older edition of the *Rule*, see Wilhelm Schmitz, ed., *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi (742–766) Regula canonicorum aus dem Leidener Codex Vossianus Latinus 94 mit Umschrift der tironischen Noten* (Hannover, 1889). On the bishop's authority to judge the canons, see in particular cc. 14–19 (Bertram, ed. and trans., pp. 35–38). For extensive analysis of Chrodegang and his text, see M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁷ A partial edition and translation of the decrees of Aachen 816 is found in Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 96–174. For a full edition of the legislation from the councils of 816 and 817, see *Concilium Aquisgranense*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Concilia 2, Concilia Aevi Carolini 1 (Hannover, 1906), pp. 307–464. On the bishop judging errant canons, see Bertram, ed. and trans., pp. 119 and 123.

sources, however, about other interactions of bishops and clergy, and of their respective estates.

Much of the scholarship on cathedral canons and bishops in this period has focused on two related issues. First, work has been done on the organization of cathedral lands, and in particular, the question of if and when cathedral estates were divided between manses for canons and for bishops.⁸ Both contemporaries and historians have suggested that separate estates for the cathedral canons aided in the establishment of a more rigorous lifestyle, which leads to the second major focus in the scholarship: the nature of the order of canons and the relationship between the lifestyle of canons and that of monks.⁹ At Aachen in 816 the Carolingian church emphasized the differences between the two orders, in large part because they frequently looked so similar; conversely, in the era of eleventh-century papal reform canons would be encouraged to live more like monks.¹⁰ The period in between

⁸ See, for example, Crosby (n. 4 above); Arnold Pöschl, *Bischofsgut und Mensa episcopalis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Vermögensrechtes*, 3 volumes (Bonn, 1908–1909); Gerhard Kallen, “Der rechtliche Charakter der frühmittelalterlichen sogenannten Güterteilung zwischen Bischof und Kapitel” (Law diss., Friedrich Wilhelms Universität Bonn, 1924); Émile Lesne, *L’origine des menses dans le temporel des églises et des monastères de France au IX^e siècle*, Mémoires et travaux publiés par des professeurs des facultés catholiques de Lille 7 (Lille, 1910), chapters 4 (esp. pp. 38–40) and 5. Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, pp. 261–87 (esp. pp. 284–87) argues that a clear distinction between canons’ and bishop’s property is not present in the cathedrals of Germany in the tenth century. See also scholarship on the question in France and Catalonia below, nn. 38–41.

⁹ For a summary of thinking on the nature and development of the canonical calling in antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as well as bibliography, see Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 9–15. The classic general history of canons is Charles Dereine, “Chanoines (des origines au XIII^e siècle),” *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart et al., vol. 12 (Paris, 1953), cols. 353–405. See also Jean Châtillon, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen Âge: Réforme de l’église, spiritualité et culture*, ed. Patrice Sicard, Bibliotheca Victorina 3 (Paris, 1992), pp. 131–49 and 151–62. For an overview of French historiography on canons, see Jean Becquet, “Vingt-cinq ans d’études canoniales en France (1959–1984),” in *Liber Amicorum: Études historiques offertes à Pierre Bougard*, Mémoires de la Commission départementale d’histoire et d’archéologie du Pas-de-Calais 25 (Arras, 1987), pp. 65–71; it is worth noting that cathedral canons are rarely the subject of the studies he lists.

¹⁰ Dereine, “Chanoines,” cols. 364–65 and 376; Mayke de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 622–53 at pp. 627–29; Josef Semmler, “Mönche und Kanoniker im Frankenreich Pippins III. und Karls des Großen,” in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 68 (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 78–111. On the increasing independence of cathedral chapters in the mid-eleventh century, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, “The Structure of the Church, 1024–1073,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4: c. 1024–

remains less well-known, although certain scholars have attempted to define the lifestyle of cathedral canons and the role of the bishop in enforcing reforms.¹¹

Aquitaine is relatively rich in surviving evidence for its cathedrals in this period, although it comes mostly from one type of document: copies of charters surviving in the cartularies of the cathedrals of Saint-Pierre in Angoulême and Saint-Étienne in Limoges, supplemented by selected documents from other houses.¹² There also exists a chronicle written in the twelfth century by a canon of the cathedral of Angoulême, the *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, which offers information on certain aspects of the bishops' activity in that see. While these sources

c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 1:229–67 at pp. 246–248. Cathedral canons have also played a part in studies of the German emperors' influence over the German and Italian churches in this period (and later), both because men trained in the imperial chapel became high-ranking members of cathedrals, and because imperially-appointed bishops sometimes clashed with clergy of local origin. See Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 58–59; Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p. 85; Robert Brentano, *A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188–1378* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), p. 184; Augustine Thompson, O.P., *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, PA, 2005), p. 47. A particularly spectacular example of such clashes was that between Bishop Rather of Verona and his cathedral clergy: Peter L. D. Reid, ed. and trans., *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 76 (Binghamton, NY, 1991), introduction; Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, pp. 45–50 and 157–58.

¹¹ See, for example, Gérard Robin, “Le problème de la vie commune au chapitre de la cathédrale Saint-Maurice d’Angers du IX^e au XII^e siècle,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970), 305–22; Steven Fanning, *A Bishop and His World*, pp. 64–72; George Dameron, *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 49–50; Johannes Josef Bauer, “Die vita canonica der katalanischen Kathedralkapitel vom 9. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert,” in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke para el 11 de Mayo 1962*, 2 volumes (Madrid, 1962), 1:81–112. Bauer comments (p. 96) that identifying canons as “secular” or “regular” is not meaningful before 1059; it is not surprising, therefore, that most work on the lifestyle of cathedral canons focuses on the period after 1050. See, for example: Jean Becquet, “La réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Année 1975* (Paris, 1977), pp. 31–41.

¹² The cartulary of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre in Angoulême survives in a manuscript of the late twelfth century, Archives Départementales de la Charente, G330. For a description see the introduction to Nanglard's edition: *Angoulême*, pp. xii–xiii. None of the original charters survive for comparison. The cartulary of Limoges survives only in a series of copies made by early modern scholars, which were used by the modern editor, Jacques de Font-Réaulx, to reconstruct almost entirely the order of documents in the original. For a description of the copies and his process of reconstruction, see the introduction to the edition: *Saint-Étienne*, pp. 1–16. A surviving original document is found in the Archives Départementales de la Haute Vienne, 3G362, which corresponds to no. 26 in the published cartulary (Font-Réaulx incorrectly gave the original's call number as 3G342 [*Saint-Étienne*, p. 51]).

do not provide overviews of ideal behavior of bishops and canons, or broad conceptions of the cathedral as an institution, they allow for an investigation of how certain aspects of that institution worked in practice. In particular, I shall first examine how gifts to and from the cathedrals can help to elucidate the organization of cathedral land. The general consensus among scholars of southern France and Catalonia is that separate estates for the canons emerged in the tenth century. Aquitaine supports this model to a great extent, although attention to this particular aspect of the cathedral and its lands should not be allowed to distort our understanding of the institution as a whole. Then I will move from cathedral land to the broader question of the role of the bishop with respect to his canons. What emerges from these documents is an institution that confounds easy generalization, both in terms of its estates and its members, bearing out Maureen Miller's observation that cathedrals in this period were complicated and contested spaces.¹³ As we shall see, cathedral property was often understood simultaneously as communal and as individual, as belonging to the canons or bishop and to the cathedral as a whole. Relationships were not static, as bishops and canons negotiated and renegotiated their relative status; the two groups were often united in their service to the church and to their patron saint but also separated by the defense of their individual interests, occasionally against each other's encroachment.¹⁴

¹³ Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p. 83.

¹⁴ Much has been written about the ways in which communities—both religious and lay—managed relationships and disputes in the central Middle Ages; such interactions were characterized not by simple choosing of sides or stagnant positions, but by networks of interests and oscillations between conflict and settlement. Among the important studies are Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; Rosenwein, Thomas Head, and Sharon Farmer, "Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach," *Speculum* 66 (1991), 764–96; Fredric L. Cheyette, "Suum Cuique Tribuere," *French Historical Studies* 6 (1970), 287–99; Patrick Geary, "Living with Conflicts in Stateless France: A Typology of Conflict Management Mechanisms, 1050–1200," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1994), pp. 125–60; the essays in Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, eds., *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986); and the work of Stephen D. White, including "Pactum... legem vincit et amor iudicium: The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978), 281–308. For a summary of recent work in this vein, see the review article by John Eldevik, "New Studies in Medieval Law and Conflict Resolution," *Comitatus* 36 (2005), 157–72.

The Organization of Cathedral Lands

In sorting through the documents from the cathedral churches of Aquitaine in this period, the multi-faceted nature of property-holding by the cathedral community is immediately apparent. One complication in trying to understand cathedral land organization lies in the fact that the bishop and the canons possessed both private land, held as a result of purchase or inheritance, and what might be termed public holdings, which came to them as a result of their office or were granted from their institution's common lands. Contemporaries, however, often did not record sharp distinctions between the two.¹⁵ Land of the cathedral, for example, might pass into the possession of an individual canon or bishop, at which point it would be both the holding of that person and of the church. That same land might later return exclusively to the communal holdings.

Canons, unlike monks, were permitted to hold property as individuals after their entry into the community, a distinction enshrined in Carolingian normative sources. In his rule for the canons of his cathedral at Metz, Bishop Chrodegang recognized that few people could emulate the apostolic life of poverty and shared property laid out in the *Acts of the Apostles*. He thus encouraged clerics to follow the spirit, if not the letter, of the apostolic model by using the property they held to benefit the church rather than their family. A canon's property might be turned over to the cathedral upon his entrance to the community, in which case he would subsequently live off a stipend provided by the church. Alternatively, a canon could donate all the property he possessed to the church but then receive some or all of these lands back as a precarial grant from the bishop, albeit with the caveat that the canon had no right to diminish the property for the remainder of his tenure, as it now belonged ultimately to the church.¹⁶ The decrees

¹⁵ For another example of blurred distinctions between public and private, see Philippe Depreux's study of land donations to monasteries, which explores the origins of the lands given and how the donations functioned both to aid the souls of the donors and to reinforce the political hierarchy: "La dimension 'publique' de certaines dispositions 'privées': Fondations pieuses et *memoria* en France occidentale aux IX^e et X^e siècles," in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer: Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. François Bougard, Cristina La Rocca, et Régine Le Jan, Collection de l'École française de Rome 351 (Rome, 2005), pp. 331–78.

¹⁶ Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules*, c. 31, pp. 46–48 and 76–79; Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 94–103; David Ganz, "The Ideology

of the council at Aachen in 816 reiterated Chrodegang's assertion that canons were able to draw income from both private property and church property, if they did not abuse that privilege by taking a stipend from the church when they could live off their own income.¹⁷ The Aachen legislation is not as explicit as Chrodegang's text, however, in asserting that a canon's property should end up in the hands of the cathedral community after his death.

Carolingian legislation thus allowed canons to hold and benefit from their personal property after entering the community, and in Chrodegang's *Rule*, required the canon's land to go to his church at his death. As is often the case with normative sources, the question arises of how far such models were followed in a given cathedral.¹⁸ The transactions in certain Aquitanian documents do indeed conform to Carolingian models, as when two canons of the cathedral of Angoulême, Anatole and Isimbard, issued a charter in 879 stating that after their death their land would be used for the perpetual support of the community of canons at their cathedral.¹⁹ Canon Guirbert of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Limoges, meanwhile, made a gift governed by the sort of precarial arrangement described by Chrodegang in his *Rule*. Guirbert made two separate donations from his allods for the saint and the support of the canons, but stipulated that usufruct of the land would be enjoyed by the donor or the donor's beneficiaries for a fixed period; in this case, rather than benefiting from the precarial grants of these lands himself, Guirbert arranged for his niece and nephew to

of Sharing: Apostolic Community and Ecclesiastical Property in the Early Middle Ages," in *Property and Power*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, pp. 17–30, at pp. 22–23.

¹⁷ On the possessions of the canons, see cc. 115–16 and 120–21 of the decrees from 816: Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 107–11 and 144–49. The decrees imagine a sliding scale from canons who can support themselves exclusively off their own lands, through those who must take some money from the church to supplement their own income, to those completely dependent on church funds. Although some of the regulations of Chrodegang are very similar to those in the Aachen decrees, there is debate as to how related the two texts are (see Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 84–94).

¹⁸ As Maureen Miller has pointed out (*The Bishop's Palace*, p. 81), historians sometimes are too quick to assume that the Aachen reform legislation and Chrodegang's *Rule* had a direct effect on local practice. How far did Chrodegang's *Rule* circulate in Aquitaine? The canons of Aachen close with a letter from Emperor Louis the Pious; one surviving copy was addressed to Archbishop Sichar of Bordeaux (Bertram, ed. and trans., *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 171–74). This may be evidence that the decrees were disseminated in Aquitaine, but it is not conclusive.

¹⁹ *Angoulême* 50 (pp. 53–54), dated 879.

hold them for their lifetimes before the lands reverted fully to the community.²⁰ Other canons, while turning over property to their cathedral, attempted to ensure that their family would continue to enjoy usufruct even further into the future, as was the case with Deusdet, archdeacon of Saint-Étienne, in 909.²¹

In some cases, however, the fate of the property of individual canons did not follow the expectations of Carolingian legislators. First, the gift did not always reach its intended beneficiary, at least not for a time: a gift from Peter, provost of Saint-Étienne, to his own community was invaded and held unjustly for two years after Peter's death, for example.²² Second, a canon might choose to give a gift of his land to a church other than his own—a possibility not explicitly treated in the normative texts. A cluster of ten documents from the cartulary of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien surrounding four decades of activity by Richard, a canon of the cathedral of Poitiers, gives a detailed look into such a case.²³ Richard and his family first appear in the charters around 900, when Richard's parents, Gulfredus and Aldesindis, sold property in the villa of Savigny to Richard and his brother Gerard.²⁴ This sale is typical of purchases by Richard: the charter describes the sale of land to Richard without any indication of its intended use, while an addendum at the bottom of the entry notes that Richard later transferred the land to Saint-Cyprien.²⁵ Richard appears to have been assembling a coherent estate at Savigny; several of the properties he purchased, especially in

²⁰ *Saint-Étienne* 29 (pp. 54–55) and *Saint-Étienne* 143 (p. 149), both dated to 1016–1022.

²¹ *Saint-Étienne* 11 (pp. 31–32). For further examples of canons seeking to endow their own cathedral church, see *Angoulême* 25 (pp. 23–24) from 1018–1031; 26 (pp. 24–26) from 879; 40 (pp. 41–42) from 879; *Saint-Étienne* 25 (pp. 50–51) from ca. 1020.

²² *Saint-Étienne* 50 (pp. 70–71). It is not clear who the invader, called “Stephen the son of Hicterius,” was; it is possible that this was an example of resistance to the donation on the part of the canon's family in an attempt to retain control of the land, as was relatively common (Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, p. 41).

²³ *Saint-Cyprien* 233–242 (pp. 151–59). For other examples see *Saint-Cyprien* 185 (pp. 119–20), 211 (p. 138), and 384 (pp. 236–37), dated to ca. 1015; Jacques de Font-Réaulx, ed., “Recueil des textes et d'analyses concernant le chapitre Saint-Pierre du Dorat,” *BSAHL* 72 (1927), no. 4 (pp. 258–59), dated ca. 1010; *Nouaillé* 103 (pp. 171–72).

²⁴ *Saint-Cyprien* 238 (pp. 155–56).

²⁵ See also *Saint-Cyprien* 236 (pp. 153–54), 237 (p. 155), 240 (pp. 157–58), 241 (p. 158), 242 (pp. 158–59). This kind of addendum after the witness list, often explaining the relation of the land to the monastery, is common in this cartulary.

his later years, were bordered by lands he already owned, as if he was conscientiously filling gaps in his holdings.

It is not clear whether Richard had always planned to give the lands described in all these charters to Saint-Cyprien. His family had a relationship with the house from at least 904, but the gifts to the monastery are all recorded in the addenda to the charters, as well as in the capstone document of the group, in which Richard gave all his lands at Savigny to Saint-Cyprien in ca. 943.²⁶ This last document indicates that the cathedral community was not ignorant of Richard's activity, an impression borne out in other charters: one estate was given by Richard's mother, Aldesinde, to the cathedral canons but held in usufruct by her and Richard for their lifetime. At the end of the charter, a note added that, "I, Richard, holding all these [properties] from these canons, gave them to the possession of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien, with these [canons] allowing."²⁷ In another document, Richard asked his bishop, Alboin of Poitiers, for permission to build a chapel on his lands at Savigny; Alboin not only consented to the construction, but allowed for an endowment to support a priest who would staff the chapel perpetually.²⁸ These charters indicate that the cathedral community did not object to at least some of their lands being alienated in this way. It may be that the canons or bishops retained certain rights in the property even after its transfer to Saint-Cyprien, although this was not recorded.

It seems, therefore, that canons had a certain amount of flexibility in the possession and disposal of property. While many canons chose the route prescribed in Carolingian legislation as a reflection of apostolic piety—to turn over their assets to the cathedral church rather than their families upon their death—others did not. Some, like Richard, chose to build their properties throughout their lifetime and then turn them over to a church other than their cathedral. Others, no doubt, kept their land within their family holdings, although such a choice was less likely to be mentioned in church documents. Despite this variety, we should not fall into a convenient narrative of decline or corruption of Carolingian ideals over the course of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. First, there

²⁶ For the 904 charter, see *Saint-Cyprien* 239 (pp. 156–57); for the final donation charter, dated by the editor to ca. 943, see *Saint-Cyprien* 234 (p. 152).

²⁷ "Hec omnia ego Richardus de ipsis canonicis possidens tradidi cenobio Sancti Cypriani possidendum, ipsis concedentibus...": *Saint-Cyprien* 235 (p. 153).

²⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 233 (pp. 151–52).

is no clear change over time, from adherence to Carolingian models in the early part of the period to defiance of those rules in the latter part. Rather, canons at all points chose different options for disposing of their property. It is not even certain how extensively the Carolingian legislation on these issues was circulated or enforced in Aquitaine. Second, canons who continued to build their own property, even for the benefit of their family, thus ignoring the precept to turn their minds from such worldly things, did not necessarily dismiss the requirement to be generous to their community. In Limoges, for example, Peter and his two nephews, Ademar and Arveus, all of whom were canons of Saint-Étienne, acquired land in one area of the city from the 920s to the 960s.²⁹ There is no indication that they were assembling this land to make a gift, as Richard did, and so it may be that they were building a set of contiguous holdings for their own benefit, with many of the estates passing down from uncle to nephews. Each of their charters, however, includes the caveat that the land in question should carry on paying the appropriate tax to the cathedral—this would also explain why the transactions were recorded in the cathedral cartulary. Peter, Ademar, and Arveus continued, therefore, to be aware of their obligations in that direction; indeed, they may have thought of the lands as their estates and those of the cathedral at one and the same time. Positing simple binaries of reform and decay, observance and laxity, is often unhelpful in understanding the use of cathedral land. Furthermore, as Johannes Bauer has argued, it would be inaccurate to condemn these canons as “secular” due to their continued ownership of private lands, because the distinction between regular and secular canons (based in large part on whether or not they eschewed private property) did not become widespread until later in the eleventh century.³⁰

Bishops also controlled their own personal estates, as well as acting as lords of the cathedral lands, in which capacity they could transfer the church’s holdings from one tenant to another.³¹ It can often be difficult

²⁹ *Saint-Étienne* 40–42 (pp. 64–66), 44–48 (pp. 66–69), 165–67 (pp. 165–67), 170–71 (pp. 168–69), and 175 (p. 171). These charters are dated across a range of years from 926 to 968. In most cases, Peter, Ademar, and Arveus are referred to with their titles (deacon, provost, etc.). Their relationship as uncle and nephew is established in *Saint-Étienne* 40.

³⁰ Bauer, “Die vita canonica,” p. 96.

³¹ Chapter 41 of the acts of the council of Frankfurt in 794 distinguished between the land a bishop held before his consecration, which could be passed on to his heirs, and that acquired thereafter, which was part of the estate of the church: Albert Werminghoff, ed.,

to distinguish these two activities in the charters, but in one illustrative example, Bishop Frotier II of Poitiers, having restored the monastery of Saint-Cyprien in the early 930s, made several gifts to endow it with extensive properties. Some of these estates came from Frotier's personal holdings—from his allods or from land he had purchased from his mother.³² Other properties, however, belonged to the cathedral, such as the land held from Saint-Pierre by the viscountess of Thouars, which Frotier transferred to the possession of Saint-Cyprien.³³ In a similar document, Bishop Turpio of Limoges described his endowment of his newly-founded monastery of Saint-Augustin around 940. When listing the lands he would give to the new house, Turpio emphasized that those gathered to give their approval included both his relatives and members of the cathedral community, as well as other powerful men of the region. The lands being given, therefore, must have held interest for both Turpio's family and the cathedral canons.³⁴ A final example involves a sale in 898 to Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers by Adalmannus, a canon of the cathedral. Here the question arises of whether Hecfrid bought the land for his private use or for the episcopal estates, although again this may be a false dichotomy: the very fact that most charters do not clearly delineate private holdings from episcopal lands suggests that the distinction was not pressing for contemporaries.³⁵ It seems that Paul Freedman's observation concerning the diocese of Vic in Catalonia—that lines between private holdings and canonical or episcopal land were often blurred in this period—holds equally true for Aquitaine.³⁶

The second challenge to understanding cathedral land organization involves determining how the church's lands and income were partitioned between the bishops and the cathedral canons. The main scholarly debate about cathedral estates in this period has focused on

MGH *Concilia* 2, *Concilia Aevi Carolini* 1 (Hannover, 1906), p. 170. The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, found in a manuscript in the library of the bishops of Angoulême, also made the point that the church's land was to be regarded by the bishop not as his own but as entrusted to him: Munier, ed., *Concilia Galliae*, canon 15, p. 169. As Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier points out, however, these strict demarcations were rarely observed: *La société laïque*, pp. 356–58.

³² See, for example, *Saint-Cyprien* 183 (p. 117) and *Saint-Jean* 253 (1: 309–11).

³³ *Saint-Cyprien* 232 (pp. 150–51).

³⁴ *Saint-Étienne* 17 (pp. 39–41).

³⁵ *Nouaillé* 24 (pp. 43–44); for other examples of sales to bishops, see *Saint-Étienne* 134 (pp. 145–46) and 185 (pp. 178–79).

³⁶ Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, pp. 40–41.

whether the land was divided into two separately-administered episcopal and canonical domains, as had been decreed by Carolingian legislation on cathedrals, or if such a division only occurred later.³⁷ For France and Catalonia, the general consensus is that separate estates existed for the canons and bishops either before the tenth century or by its end.³⁸ In Aquitaine, opinion is split between the two main cathedrals whose charters are available for study: in his work on the diocese of Limoges, Michel Aubrun argued that the episcopal and canonical domains at Saint-Étienne were administered independently throughout this period.³⁹ The editor of the cartulary of Saint-Pierre in Angoulême, Jean Nanglard, on the other hand, asserted that the division of the two domains did not occur there until a papal decree of 1110, and that before this date gifts were not made to the canons or the bishop individually, but rather to the cathedral church as a whole.⁴⁰

As some scholars of France and Catalonia have pointed out, however, the language used in charters to determine the existence of separate domains is often ambiguous.⁴¹ Indeed, I would argue that while there is evidence that canons and bishops controlled property independently in Aquitaine in this period, excessive focus on that question takes attention away from other aspects of cathedral land-holding, and by extension obscures the multi-faceted nature of the institution as a whole. It seems profitable, therefore, to put aside for the moment the question

³⁷ On Carolingian legislation, see Lesne, *L'origine des menses*, esp. chapter 5.

³⁸ On tenth-century Catalonia, see Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic* (pp. 42–43 and n. 13), who asserts that the two manses were separate in Catalonia throughout the tenth century (although this was not true in other parts of Spain); see also Bauer, “Die vita canonica,” pp. 94–96. For various areas of France, see Robin, “Le problème de la vie commune”; Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 358–59; Jean-Louis Biget, “L’épiscopat du Rouergue,” p. 196; Fanning, *A Bishop and His World*, pp. 64–69; Hubert Flammarion, “Le chapitre cathedral de Langres du IX^e au XI^e siècle: Aux origines d’une seigneurie ecclésiastique,” *Langres et ses évêques VIII^e–XI^e siècles: Aux origines d’une seigneurie ecclésiastique. Actes du colloque Langres-Ellwangen*, ed. Josef Semmler (Langres, 1986), pp. 133–49; Joseph Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d’Angers (1148–1240)*, 2 volumes (Lille, 1984), pp. 102–8.

³⁹ Michel Aubrun, *L’ancien diocèse de Limoges des origines au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Institut d’Études du Massif Central 21 (Clermont-Ferrand, 1981), pp. 143–44.

⁴⁰ *Angoulême*, introduction, pp. i–ii. The bull of Pascal II referred to by Nanglard is *Angoulême* 135 (pp. 123–28), from 14 April 1110. In a similar document from 20 April 1105, Pascal confirmed the possessions and privileges of the canons of Saint-Étienne in Limoges; this does not figure in Aubrun’s discussion of the situation in the tenth century, however (*Saint-Étienne* 192 [pp. 183–85]).

⁴¹ See, for example, Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et Comes*, p. 81 n. 73; Fanning, *A Bishop and His World*, pp. 66–67; Flammarion, “Le chapitre cathedral de Langres,” pp. 138–40; Bauer, “Die vita canonica,” p. 95.

of separate domains and look instead at the ways in which land was earmarked in gifts to the cathedral and in grants of cathedral property made to outsiders.

Certain gifts to the cathedrals were made to the canons, without mention of any other beneficiary, although this was relatively rare. For example, a couple gave vineyards in 908 to Saint-Pierre of Angoulême for the purpose of supporting the *fratres in claustra*.⁴² In a document from the other end of the period, the deacon Unbert gave manses for the support of the canons of Limoges serving God and Saint Stephen.⁴³ There are even fewer cases of property being transferred to the possession of the bishop alone, as when Teutbertus granted land to Bishop Helias of Angoulême in 868.⁴⁴

The vast majority of gifts to Aquitanian cathedrals were not given to the bishops or canons alone but rather to some combination of the patron saint, the church, the see, and the canons. The canons were most often paired with the saint whom they served—gifts made *sancto Petro suisque canonicis* are extremely common in the cartulary of Angoulême, for example. Another formulation transferred property to the saint or the church for the support of the canons: in Limoges, a gift so intended was commonly described as having been made *ad stipendia fratrum* or *ad stipendia canonicorum*, while in Angoulême the preferred phrasing was to give to the common holdings of the canons—the *communia fratrum* or *communia canonicorum*.⁴⁵ The popularity of gifts to the

⁴² Angoulême 57 (pp. 62–63).

⁴³ Saint-Étienne 25 (pp. 50–51): “cedo in stipendia fratrum canonicorum Deo sanctoque Stephano servientium...” This gift is dated to ca. 1020. Other examples of gifts seemingly to the canons alone include Angoulême 8 (p. 10) from 1018; 51 (pp. 55–56) from 879; Saint-Étienne 9 (pp. 27–28) from 1010–1014; 10 (pp. 29–31) from 871; 22 (pp. 47–48) from the late ninth century.

⁴⁴ Angoulême 37 (pp. 38–39). On the potential reasons for gifts made to bishops, see Timothy Reuter, “Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in Early Eleventh-Century Saxony: The Evidence of the *Vita Meinwerchi*,” in *Property and Power*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, pp. 165–99 at pp. 190–91. In other charters a see was occasionally mentioned with the saint and the canons as if it was a separate consideration, but if this was so, the distinction was not elaborated on and the evidence remains inconclusive. See, for example, Angoulême 54 (pp. 59–60) and Saint-Étienne 30 (pp. 55–56). A document from Saint-Maixent in Poitou dating from 1021–1025 (Saint-Maixent 82 [pp. 100–1]) describes a gift to the monastery of land that had originally come “ex altare sancti Petri Pictavensis sedis episcopatu.”

⁴⁵ The terminology *communia fratrum* might perhaps be enough to counter Nanglard’s argument that the canons had no estates of their own in this period. In another example of such terminology, gifts to the canons in the diocese of Langres were given *ad mensam* or *ad cameram canonicorum*. In this case *mensa* and *camera*

canons showed the donors' desire to benefit from the communal prayer conducted by the brothers. Around 1050, a man named Abbo expressed this sentiment in his donation charter, in which he stated that he wished to give the clerics at Limoges everything he held "so that the canons of this place might deign to care for me in life as in death."⁴⁶

Not all the documents recording donations are so simple, however, and it would be hasty to assume that all gifts given to the saint and canons or the cathedral church and canons were intended to benefit the canons alone.⁴⁷ Did a gift to the saint and the canons necessarily exclude the bishop and the cathedral church? In some cases it seems to have done so, as in a gift from Bishop Hilduin of Limoges to Saint Stephen that emphasized that the canons should hold the land in question.⁴⁸ In other instances, however, a gift to the saint is not so easily categorized. Some donors describe their gift as benefiting the sacred place, which was represented by the saint and served by both the bishop and the canons.⁴⁹ There are also examples in which the inclusion of the saint with the canons seemed to herald the bishop's involvement, as if the mention of the presiding saint meant that the gift concerned the whole institution dedicated to his name, not just the canons.⁵⁰ In most

came to mean the entirety of the canons' properties and incomes. Flammarion, "Le chapitre cathedral de Langres": pp. 138–40.

⁴⁶ *Saint-Étienne* 112 (pp. 131–32): "Et ut haec omnia, sicut predictum est, fixa permanent, manibus propriis coram testibus firmo atque ut me velud canonicum ipsius loci curare dignentur tam in vita quam in morte..."

⁴⁷ Hubert Flammarion, for example, distinguishes the properties, incomes, and rights of the chapter of Langres from those of the church as a whole, which would include the bishop: "Le chapitre cathedral de Langres," p. 140.

⁴⁸ *Saint-Étienne* 189 (pp. 181–82). Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier implies that in the province of Narbonne, gifts to the *domus* of the saint were gifts to the canons: *La société laïque*, p. 359.

⁴⁹ In a charter from 920, Deda gave to the church of Limoges: "cedo ad ipsum sanctum locum ad stipendia clericorum ibidem Deo famulantium alodem meum..." Later in the charter, she qualified that the gift was to be held by Bishop Turpio for his lifetime before being divided between the church and the canons: *Saint-Étienne* 12 (pp. 33–34). In another case from Limoges, Viscount Hildegard gave a gift to the church of Stephen and to the canons: "Igitur sacrosanctae ecclesie sancti Stephani prothomatyris Lemovice civitatis senioris canonicis ubi in Christi nomine Turpio vocatus episcopus rector preesse dinoscitur, ego, in Dei nomine, Eldegarius vicecomes... de jure meo et dominatione in potestate ipsius sancti loci ad illos canonicos ibidem Deo servientes trado..." (*Saint-Étienne* 18 [pp. 41–44]). This formulation, juxtaposing a gift to the canons with an immediate assertion of the bishop's name and rule, is common in Limoges and, in my opinion, is representative of the intertwined roles of the bishop and canons there.

⁵⁰ For example, there was a case of land given to Saint Stephen and the canons, which was then unjustly handed out to laymen by the *praepositus* of the cathedral. Both the

Aquitanian cathedral charters, there are not clear divisions between land intended for the brothers and land intended for the use of the bishop as ruler of the canons; by contrast, this sort of separation is found in certain other religious communities of the time, such as monasteries that partitioned land for the monks from land that was controlled by a lay abbot and susceptible to royal dues.⁵¹ Although there are moments in which the bishop is portrayed as an outsider to the community of canons, as I shall discuss below, the division is not so emphatic as in the case of monasteries and lay abbots.

In addition, some gifts were made only to the saint or the church, with no further elaboration. In Limoges, Bishop Turpio gave a gift to the proto-martyr Stephen in the year of his death, and other grants were made to Stephen or the church, while several donations to the Angoulême cathedral were made in the name of Peter and his church.⁵² Who held such land? Who profited from its income? The ambiguity of this vocabulary is real; the question, then, is whether it was intentional, or if we are merely hampered by shortcomings in the recording of these transactions or preservation of these documents. Both through inclination and necessity, I prefer to err on the side of assuming that

bishop and canons were involved in excommunicating the offenders and settling the dispute: *Saint-Étienne* 178 (p. 172). In another document, a woman named Tesalga gave a church and lands to Stephen and the canons, in such an arrangement that the bishop and the canons would place a fief in her charge for the remainder of her lifetime (this same piece of land, perhaps), and she would do their will there. Thus in this transaction, a gift is made to the saint and canons, but it is both the bishop and canons who are involved in the reciprocal portion of the arrangement: *Saint-Étienne* 76 (pp. 88–89). It may be that the bishop is only invoked as the head of the cathedral in disputes or complex exchanges, or that he was often involved with transactions that involved land leaving the cathedral's holdings. It is also possible that the inclusion of the saint among the recipients widens the donation to include the entire cathedral, and thus the bishop.

⁵¹ See the work of John W. Bernhardt on the ways in which the payment of royal dues prompted monasteries to divide their lands between estates dedicated solely to the monks and those controlled by an abbot (often a layman) and used to pay such dues: *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 85–135 and “*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property in Early Medieval Germany,” *Viator* 18 (1987), 53–87, esp. pp. 54–58 and 68–71. A useful corrective to over-generalization on this point is found in Étienne Renard, “Que décrit le polyptyque de Saint-Bertin? À propos de la notion de mense à l’époque carolingienne,” *Revue Mabillon* new series 15 (2004), 51–79. Renard offers a nuanced analysis of the property held by the monastery of Saint-Bertin in the early Middle Ages and argues that the separation of lands established in 877 did not necessarily exist before that date.

⁵² *Saint-Étienne* 128 (pp. 143–44) and 8 (pp. 25–27); *Angoulême* 22 (p. 22), 43 (pp. 46–47), 55 (pp. 60–61), and 56 (pp. 61–62).

charters said what the donor and/or recipient intended them to say, and thus I would argue that a gift to the saint may simply have reflected a donor's main concern—entering into a relationship with a holy person in the hopes of gaining the benefits that would confer. Furthermore, when a gift was made simultaneously to the canons and the power of the church,⁵³ or to the bishops and canons together with no explicit division of the landholding,⁵⁴ there appears to be room for interpretation as to the specific uses of the property. While a donor might well ask that his or her gift be used for a specific purpose, some may have chosen to give a more general donation to the saint, his church, or some combination of the clerics serving there, and to leave the divisions of income unspecified. Such income may then have been used where it was most needed, in a manner worked out later by the community. Finally, this language may have reflected the community's understanding of itself: rather than defined by strict demarcations between canons' and bishop's estates, they may have (at least at times) thought of themselves as one group of clerics serving a saint and holy place.

A more detailed account of the intended fate of property donated to the cathedral is found in those gifts expressly given to the canons and the bishop together, with a land-sharing agreement described in the text. Two charters serve as examples of this sort of arrangement. The first is a document issued around 1025, in which the donor, Duke William the Great of Aquitaine, spoke of his esteem both for Bishop Isembert I of Poitiers and for the canons living under Isembert's rule.⁵⁵ Because of his relationship with Isembert, William explained, he chose to give a piece of land to the bishop for his lifetime, after which it was to pass to the canons. William wrote that he gave the land "to the mother church of Poitiers, dedicated in honor of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the above-mentioned bishop, in such a tenure that he should hold it as long as he will live; after his death, let it revert to the community

⁵³ *Angoulême* 27 (pp. 26–28) (June 922). Also *Angoulême* 54 (pp. 59–60) (before 1028).

⁵⁴ See, for example, the gift of a monastery within the walls of Angoulême made by Count Geoffrey to "God and Saint Peter, prince of the apostles [and] of the great see of Angoulême, to lord Gerard, bishop of the above-mentioned see by the grace of God, and to all his successor bishops, and to his clerics": *Angoulême* 6 (pp. 8–9) (1038–1043).

⁵⁵ Thomas Head has suggested that this transaction may have taken place in the context of the Peace Council held at Poitiers in 1025: "The Development of the Peace," p. 684 n. 129.

of brothers.”⁵⁶ The fact that land could move from one set of holdings to another—from the bishop to the brothers—would seem to indicate that their estates were separate, although both presumably benefited the “mother church”.

In a similar case, a woman named Deda gave several manses to the church of Limoges in 920 for the soul of her husband and to atone for an unspecified crime committed by one of her sons. After elaborating on the contents of the gift, Deda added:

I make this gift in such a way that no bishop, no power, no person, should be able to alienate this donation or to give it in benefice to any vassal, but the lord bishop [Turpio] should hold [it] in his lordship as long as he lives, and after his death, his half should remain for the lighting of Saint-Étienne, and the other half should be of use for the support of the clerics.⁵⁷

Thus Bishop Turpio of Limoges would hold the entire donation for his lifetime, after which it would be split in two. Half would go to support the canons and half to finance the lighting of the cathedral church.⁵⁸ It is not clear whether the income to finance the lighting was intended to benefit the bishops alone (or to indicate the bishop’s responsibility for the church), corresponding to the provision made for the canons, or if it was meant to aid both parties.

Other documents describe land-share arrangements between the bishops and canons that already existed but were under threat or needed to be renewed. In the early eleventh century, Bishop Roho

⁵⁶ Archives Départementales de la Vienne, pièces restaurées, no. 35: “Quapropter / ego Willelmus gratia dei pictavensium comes atque dux aequitaniae considerans apud me gra/via facinora quae neglegenter commisi amoremque erga me pariter et fidem Isemberti excellen/tis episcopi ac stabilitatem venerabilium chanonicorum in eius regimine consistentium. Do atque in / perpetuum trado filiisque meis dare precipio fideliter et absque ulla violentia in posterum ad futu/[ram] quandam terram non ad modum parvam in vitinio domni hilarii sitam matri aecclesiae / pictavensis dedicatam scilicet in honore sancti petri apostolorum principis supradictoqe episcopo. Ea vide/licet ratione ut quandiu vixerit teneat et post eius discessum in communio / fratrum revertatur.”

⁵⁷ *Saint-Étienne* 12 (pp. 33–34): “Tali vero modo hanc donationem facio, ut nullus pontifex, nulla potestas, nulla persona hanc donationem possit alienari aut alicui vassallo beneficiari, sed domnus pontifex, quamdiu vixerit, dominicam teneat, et post eius discessum medietas eius in luminarium sancti Stephani remaneat, reliqua vero medietas ad stipendia clericorum proficiat.”

⁵⁸ On the *luminarium*, see Paul Fouracre, “Eternal Light and Earthly Needs: Practical Aspects of the Development of Frankish Immunities,” in *Property and Power*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, pp. 53–81 at pp. 68–78.

of Angoulême issued a charter to protect a property containing mills that the bishop and canons shared. Roho forbade anyone to remove the mills from their two rightful owners and backed his words with a long list of curses. He concluded:

What more can I say? Let he who would presume to carry away the above-mentioned mills of the church of Saint Peter, either from the bishop or the clerics serving that same church, be entirely cursed and damned to the eternal suffering that is prepared for the devil and his angels. I forbid and prohibit any bishop who succeeds me in the bishopric to give these mills to any man in the fisc, but rather for all time the bishop should hold one half of the mills, and the clerics should hold the other half.⁵⁹

A second charter also attests to the existence of land held in common by bishops and canons. It records an oath of fidelity taken by one Bernard to Bishop Jordan of Limoges concerning the castle of Salagnac, which lay within the lands of Saint-Étienne. Bernard swore—and named six hostages who would act as assurance if he should fail—that he would be responsible for the management of this castle, which, he tells us, was held in common by the bishop and clerics. He added that if he received notice from either the bishop or the clerics of misdeeds regarding this estate, he would correct it within forty days or forfeit his hostages.⁶⁰

It seems, therefore, that regarding donations to the cathedral, neither extreme point of view—that the canons' and bishops' domains were entirely separate, or that the church was one and gifts were given without distinction—gives an accurate representation of cathedral land organization in this period. There was a clear division of the two sets of assets in the gifts given either to the bishop or the canons, or to both with clear demarcations of holdings. These are enough to counter the idea that no gifts were given either to the prelate alone or to the canons alone in this period, but always to the clergy of the church in

⁵⁹ *Angoulême* 30 (p. 32): "Et quid amplius dicam? Sit omnino maledictus et dampnatus in supplicium aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius, qui supradictos molendinos aecclesiae sancti Petri, vel episcopo, sive clericis eiusdem aecclesiae servientibus, auferre presumpserit. Ipsi quoque episcopo qui michi in episcopatum successerit veto et prohibeo ut jam nullo homini illos in fiscum donet, sed semper omni tempore ex predictis molendinis unam medietatem habeat episcopus, alteram vero medietatem habeant canonici."

⁶⁰ *Saint-Étienne* 115 (pp. 133–34) (dated to 1024–1050 by the editor). Two later documents show the system of payment of rents for Salagnac and the surrounding lands to the bishop and canons in the late eleventh century: *Saint-Étienne* 107–8 (pp. 125–29).

its entirety.⁶¹ Donors throughout this period expressed the wish that their gift be used to support the canons, often in exchange for prayer, and some rare gifts also singled out the bishop as sole beneficiary.⁶² On the other hand, these gifts co-existed with donations given to the church or to the saint as well as lands or assets shared by members of the cathedral community. Donors to the cathedral could earmark land for specific purposes, but in many cases they chose to keep the language of their donations quite general.

The second category of document shows land leaving the cathedral holdings through gifts or sales by members of the cathedral community. For example, Bishop Gunbald of Angoulême made a gift to a lay couple in 918 of both cathedral land and (at the request of the monks) land from the house of Saint-Cybard.⁶³ Gunbald stated that the cathedral canons had consented to the donation of “our land,” and a number of canons signed the charter; both of these factors suggest that the gift may have been made jointly by the bishop and the canons. In another case, Roho of Angoulême took part in two transactions with the abbot and monastery of Saint-Amant de Boixe in the 1020s. The first is described in a charter in which Count William IV Taillefer outlined his desire to re-found Saint-Amant. William discovered, however, that the place where he wished to build the new house fell under the lordship of the bishop, and so he asked Roho to turn over the land. Roho did so, with the consent of two men who held the land from him as a benefice. All this suggests that the land belonged to the bishop. To complicate matters, however, Roho stated expressly that he made the gift with the advice of the canons, and the charter was signed by the archdeacon.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Angoulême*, introduction, p. ii.

⁶² The existence of gifts given for the support of the canons does not, in my mind, necessarily indicate a separate canonical domain in this period, although other scholars have argued this. See Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 358–59. Biget (“L’épiscopat du Rouergue,” p. 196) asserts that after 1050 gifts to cathedrals in the Rouergue and Albigeois were made to canons exclusively, which was a sign of the bishops’ loss of control over large portions of cathedral land. Steven Fanning argues that Bishop Hubert of Angers’s grant to the canons in 1025 meant that he supported the creation of a separate canonical domain (*A Bishop and His World*, p. 66). Gérard Robin also distinguishes what he sees as a crucial change in terminology, indicating the shift to a separate domain for the canons (“Le problème de la vie commune,” pp. 309–10). As Bauer suggests, however, there was probably a phase in which land intended for the canons was still administered by the bishop (“Die vita canonica,” p. 95).

⁶³ *Saint-Cybard* 235 (pp. 217–18).

⁶⁴ *Saint-Amant* 2 (p. 93).

This transaction was followed by a sale by Roho to Saint-Amant.⁶⁵ Although Roho issued the document in his own name, he recounted that he made the sale for the redemption of past, present, and future bishops and canons, and he forbade any successor bishop or canon from interfering with this property. The charter was also signed by a number of cathedral clergy. The inclusion of the canons in both the process and the rewards for this gift suggests that the land did not belong solely to an episcopal estate, or at least that any gift that diminished the holdings of the cathedral as a whole—thereby involving sacrifice and, hopefully, benefit for all—was ideally made with the permission of both parties.

Two final examples come from the first half of the tenth century. In August of 923 two men, Atto and Rainus, gave land to the cathedral of Limoges and then received it back from Bishop Turpio and “all the congregation living under him.” When the two men died, the land would serve for the support of the brothers. Both Turpio and a number of officials from among the canons confirmed the arrangement. This charter suggests that even if the land originally belonged to the canons (and hence returned to their holdings after Atto and Rainus’ death), the bishop’s presence was key in arranging grants of cathedral land.⁶⁶ Fifteen years after this transaction, Bishop Alboin of Poitiers was approached by Frotier, a canon of his cathedral. Frotier had founded a chapel, endowed it from his own property, and now wished to give it to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien.⁶⁷ Canon Frotier asked Alboin both to consecrate the church and to allow him to transfer the lands he held from the cathedral to the possession of Saint-Cyprien. Alboin agreed, and went on to list the properties that belonged to the new chapel, which fell into two categories: the allods belonging to Canon Frotier and those lands that came “from the benefice of Saint Peter and of ours.”⁶⁸ Alboin stated that he sought the permission of the canons for the transfer of the latter estates, which suggests that land from the saint belonged to the whole cathedral community.

The charters issued by Turpio, Alboin, Gunbald, and Roho indicate that bishops officiated at donations and sales of the cathedral’s land

⁶⁵ *Saint-Amant* 3 (pp. 94–95).

⁶⁶ *Saint-Étienne* 15 (pp. 37–38).

⁶⁷ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 58–61).

⁶⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 59): “De beneficio etiam Sancti Petri et nostro cedimus per deprecationem ipsius Frotherii...”

in this period: there are no surviving contemporary examples of the canons acting together to sell or give land without the bishop present, although, as discussed above, they might do so individually.⁶⁹ In certain cases, such as the first charter of Bishop Roho for Saint-Amant, it seems that the bishop controlled the land in question and that he asked the permission of the canons only out of courtesy or because he wanted their advice on the wisdom of the gift. In other cases, the provenance of the gift or sale was less clear, and it is possible that the property in question was cathedral land, in the sense that both the bishops and canons had rights in it, and therefore that the consent of both parties was required.

Let me now return to the question with which I began: were the episcopal and canonical domains administered separately in southwest France in these years? The evidence points in contradictory directions. First, there are definite indications that the canons' and bishop's properties were seen as distinct in certain gifts made to and from the cathedral. It cannot be claimed that such a distinction was imposed from on high by papal documents in the twelfth century. Conversely, we should not overemphasize the separation of domains; it is not clear that there was a moment in this period when the canons achieved (or, indeed, desired) completely separate estates without any oversight from the bishop. The bishops continued to be active in matters concerning all aspects of the cathedral's property.

Furthermore, there is abundant evidence in documents from across the period for a unified conception of the cathedral and its lands, both on the part of donors and recipients, in gifts to the saint and the church that seem to encompass the entire community.⁷⁰ There was also fluidity in ownership, as land given originally to the canons, the church, or the bishop could be moved back and forth between these holdings. Finally, the cathedral community frequently acted as one in giving lands. These documents suggest that searching for a coherent progression from united to separate domains may not be the best way to approach the

⁶⁹ After 1100, canons would act as a group more frequently, often referring to themselves as the *canonici* of a given cathedral, or as the chapter. See for example *Angoulême* 141 (pp. 133–35), 171 (pp. 159–60), 175 (pp. 163–64), 210 (pp. 194–96); *Saint-Étienne* 125 (p. 141).

⁷⁰ Writing of the cathedral chapter of thirteenth-century Valencia, R. Ignatius Burns echoes these findings; his comments on the cathedral property are regrettably brief, however: "Organization of a Mediaeval Cathedral Community: The Chapter of Valencia (1238–1280)," *Church History* 31 (1962), 14–23 at p. 19.

problem of cathedral land organization, as the temptation to force the documents to fit one conception or the other is too great, and we risk drawing sharp lines where contemporaries would not have seen them. While boundaries could be set between the canons and the bishop, each party also simultaneously thought of themselves as part of a larger whole, and ownership of land reflected that fact. The cathedrals in this period thus encompassed both the narrow interests of the canons or bishop, and the broader ones of the church, the saint, or, as I shall discuss below, the bishop as leader of the community.

Many cathedrals in France and elsewhere saw increased autonomy of the canonical estates in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this was true in Aquitaine, although the change was slow. Particularly in the twelfth century, there is more evidence for the separation of the canonical and episcopal domains in Aquitaine, including an increasing number of gifts to the canons alone (with no mention of the saint or church); incidents of all the canons issuing charters as a group in their own name, which they did not do in the earlier period; and the appearance of the term *chapter*, used both to indicate a place and the canons as a group.⁷¹ The papal bulls sent by Pascal II to Limoges in 1105 and Angoulême in 1110 in order to demarcate officially the two domains seem not to have imposed a new organization, but rather gave papal approval, and perhaps further formality, to a situation that was already developing.⁷² The distinctions between the two domains only accelerated after his documents were issued, which was part of a general trend toward the autonomy of cathedral chapters in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷³ However, the situation in Aquitaine remained far from simple, as gifts continued to be given to the see

⁷¹ The word "chapter" is very rarely seen in Aquitanian charters before 1050. For cases from after 1050 of canons issuing charters as a group in their own name, see *Angoulême* 141 (pp. 133–35), 171 (pp. 159–60), 175 (pp. 163–63), 210 (pp. 194–96) and *Saint-Étienne* 94 (p. 111); for mentions of the chapter (*capitulum*), see *Angoulême* 17 (pp. 16–18), 131 (pp. 121–22), 134 (p. 123), 171 (pp. 159–60), 174 (pp. 162–63), 175 (pp. 163–64), 186 (pp. 175–76), 210 (pp. 194–96) and *Saint-Étienne* 84 (p. 97), 164 (p. 165); *Angoulême* 183 (pp. 170–72) mentions a *mensa canonicorum*.

⁷² *Saint-Étienne* 192 (pp. 183–85); *Angoulême* 135 (pp. 123–28).

⁷³ On the development of cathedral chapters and their papally-supported role in episcopal elections, see I. S. Robinson, "The Institutions of the Church, 1073–1216," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, ed. Luscombe and Riley-Smith, 1:368–460 at pp. 458–59; also H. E. J. Cowdrey in the same volume, 1:246–48. On the reform of cathedral chapters in France, see Becquet, "La réforme des chapitres cathédraux."

or the saint or the church, with no further distinction made.⁷⁴ The importance and power of the bishop in the life of the cathedral was also a constant throughout this later period, as he distributed church land, donated his own possessions, represented the whole church in transactions, and oversaw the well-being of the canons.⁷⁵ Let me now return to the tenth-century cathedral and consider the functions the bishop fulfilled in that period.

The Bishop in the Cathedral Community

There is great variety in the roles the bishops played in their cathedrals and in the nature of their interactions with cathedral canons. This is only natural, given the sheer number of ties that bound the bishop to the cathedral community and the countless activities that they performed together. To give just a few examples: in Poitiers the bishops had often been members of the community of canons before they came to the episcopal throne.⁷⁶ Cathedral canons helped to elect bishops, although as we shall see in the next chapter, elections in certain Aquitanian dioceses in this period were dominated by the will of the dukes. There were also numerous cases of the bishops and canons acting together to make decisions or participate in ceremonies. When Anselm of Limoges issued a charter describing the consecration of the church of Favars in 897, for example, he did so expressly “with all the archdeacons, archpriests, and other priests of our church.”⁷⁷ Bishops

⁷⁴ See, for example, *Angoulême* 39 (p. 40), 59 (p. 64), 61 (p. 65), 90 (pp. 82–83), 92 (p. 83), 93 (p. 84), 123 (p. 112), 132 (p. 122); *Saint-Étienne* 191 (p. 183), 51 (pp. 71–72), 162 (p. 164).

⁷⁵ Among many others, see *Angoulême* 17 (pp. 16–18), 18 (pp. 19–20), 38 (pp. 39–40), 87 (pp. 79–80), 89 (pp. 81–82), 108 (pp. 97–98), 131 (pp. 121–22), 140 (p. 133); *Saint-Étienne* 1 (p. 1), 32 (p. 57), 43 (p. 66), 49 (p. 69), 114 (pp. 132–33).

⁷⁶ Peter (who would be bishop from ca. 962–975) appeared in earlier charters both without a title and with the titles of archdeacon and provost: see *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7), 65 (pp. 58–61), 118 (p. 87), 126 (p. 90), 183 (p. 117), 184 (pp. 118–19), 232 (pp. 150–51); *Nouaillé* 46 (pp. 81–82). Gilbert (bishop from 975–1023/1024) witnessed several charters as an archdeacon: *Saint-Cyprien* 130 (pp. 91–92), 132 (pp. 92–93), and 401 (pp. 248–54). Isembert I (bishop from 1023/4–1047) appeared with his uncle and predecessor, Gilbert, at several houses. In a charter from Maillezais, dated to 1016–1019, Isembert is only referred to as the bishop’s nephew, not as archdeacon: Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, eds., *La fondation de l’abbaye de Maillezais: Récit du moine Pierre* (La-Roche-sur-Yon, 2001), no. 4, pp. 215–18; the same is true in *Saint-Cyprien* 384 (pp. 236–37). Isembert appears as archdeacon in *Saint-Cyprien* 261 (p. 169) and 369 (pp. 227–28).

⁷⁷ *Beaulieu* 13 (pp. 30–32): “Idcirco ego Anselmus, Lemovicensium humilis episcopus, cum omnibus Ecclesiae nostrae archidiaconibus, archipresbiteris quoque et caeteris

also took action or gave judgments with the counsel of one or more of the canons.⁷⁸ Bishop Gerald and the canons of Saint-Étienne traveled together, along with the monks of Saint-Martial, to represent Limoges at the celebrations surrounding the discovery of a relic of John the Baptist at the monastery of Saint-Jean d'Angély.⁷⁹ Many more such incidents must have gone unremarked by the documents.

Charters and chronicles tend, however, to focus on unusual events and interactions between the bishops and their cathedral, and here two main categories emerge. Some of these incidents emphasize the united nature of the cathedral community, as when we see bishops and canons acting together, or the bishop representing the entire cathedral church. Other interactions, however, emphasize the separateness of the bishops and canons and of their interests, as when there are rare flashes of hostility between the two, or when a bishop donated to the canons, hoping to gain spiritual rewards for his generosity.

Let me begin with the cases that emphasize divergences between the interests of bishops and canons. In particular, there are a small number of cases in which bishops seized the land of canons or of the church as a whole for their own ends, including the seizure of canons' land perpetrated by Grimoard of Angoulême.⁸⁰ An even more dramatic example of this type of behavior came in the reign of Bishop Hugh of Angoulême (973/4–990), Grimoard's predecessor. The *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium* recounts that Hugh attempted to wrest control of the county of Angoulême from Arnald Manzer, illegitimate son of Count William II Taillefer.⁸¹ In the course of this power struggle, Hugh plundered cathedral land and handed it out to lords from Angoulême and neighboring regions, in order to secure their loyalty. Hugh's campaign was unsuccessful, but it resulted in a dangerous depletion of the cathedral's funds, and the few canons

sacerdotibus, notum esse volumus..." See also the later account of this transaction in *Beaulieu* 170 (pp. 237–38).

⁷⁸ See, for example, *Saint-Cyprien* 183 (p. 117) and 184 (pp. 118–19); *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62); François Marvaud, "Chartes relatives au prieuré de Bouteville et aux églises de Merpins et de Gimeux," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 4th series, 3 (1865), pp. 343–75, at no. 3 (pp. 357–58).

⁷⁹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.56 (p. 176).

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 27–28.

⁸¹ *Historia pontificum*, c. 22, p. 14. For a detailed account of this conflict, see André Debord, *La société laïque*, pp. 75–77, 94, 113; J. Depoin, "Les comtes héréditaires d'Angoulême de Vulgrin Ier à Audoin II (869–1032)," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 7th series, 4 (1903–1904), 1–27, esp. pp. 19–20; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 208.

needed to attend to the customs of the cathedral church could barely be supported on the remaining income.

Certain charters evince a concern that other bishops might behave as Hugh had. A donation to the canons of Angoulême in 1031 by Archdeacon Arnald contained a penalty clause partly directed at bishops: "It is pleasing to me to confirm and turn over this gift to God and Saint Peter and his canons, so that if a bishop or prelate or any other person might presume to give it to anyone, he shall not have the power to do so."⁸² In another case, a man named Stephen Bonel gave properties to the canons of Limoges in the years around 1020, during the reign of Bishop Gerald. After warning his *fideles* against interfering with his donation, Stephen's charter continued: "and none of the successors of the above-mentioned bishop should dare to give this same chapel in benefice to anyone or presume to turn it back into other uses, but just as it was confirmed through our authority, thus should it remain perpetually undisturbed."⁸³ These warnings confirm that a division between the canons' land and the bishop's land existed and that it should not be breached. They also present the bishop as an outsider (and a potentially threatening one) to the cathedral canons and put limits on his supervisory powers over the community's lands.

Bishops also made gifts of land or property to the cathedral canons.⁸⁴ Some of these gifts came expressly from the bishops' private land, which they had inherited or held from another outside source. Bishop Jordan of Limoges, for example, explained that properties he gave to the canons of Limoges around 1032 came from two sources: an allod that he inherited from his parents and land given to him by Duke William the Great of Aquitaine.⁸⁵ A gift made by Bishop Hilduin of Limoges, meanwhile, appears to have consisted of land that came to

⁸² *Angoulême* 46 (pp. 50–51): "Placuit michi hanc cessionem firmare et tradere Deo et sancto Petro suisque canonicis, ut si episcopus, nec prelatus, nec ulla persona donare cuilibet presumpserit, potestatem non habeat faciendi." Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier has interpreted the appearance of such warnings in tenth-century documents from the archdiocese of Narbonne to mean that the canons had developed a separate domain: *La société laïque*, p. 359.

⁸³ *Saint-Étienne* 14 (p. 37): "et nullus quilibet ex successoribus jam prenominati episcopi eandam cellulam in beneficium alicui dare audeat et in alteros usus retorquere presumat, sed sicut per nostram auctoritatem confirmatum est, ita perpetuo permaneat inconvulsum."

⁸⁴ For a case in which a bishop transferred what appears to have been cathedral land to the canons, see Bishop Turpio's transaction in *Saint-Étienne* 15 (pp. 37–38).

⁸⁵ *Saint-Étienne* 30 (pp. 55–56). The editor dates this charter to ca. 1032.

him through heredity, although the language is less than entirely clear.⁸⁶ Both Hilduin and Jordan, in explaining why they gave these gifts to the cathedral canons, expressed concern for their own souls and those of their relatives. Hilduin gave his gift specifically to implore the mercy of God for himself and his brother and predecessor, Bishop Hildegard. Jordan cited similar preoccupations, mentioning both the need of the human race in general and the fate of himself and his relatives in particular. These gifts to the cathedral canons expressed the same concerns that are found in episcopal donations to other houses of canons or to monasteries.

Paradoxically, these accounts of the bishops' acts of hostility and generosity have an important element in common: the sense that the bishops stand outside the community of canons. In the case of illegal seizures, the prelates sought to hold land to which, the sources make clear, they had no right—or at least no right to use in the particular manner they did. In the case of donations, bishops sought the aid of communal prayer that they, although they were clerics and members of the cathedral community, could not perform themselves. The canons thus had rights and powers separate from those of the bishops, and the reverse was undoubtedly true as well.

By contrast, there are a number of documents that confirm the bishop's role as the head of the cathedral and underline the fact that the bishop and canons were part of one community. First, bishops often represented the cathedral community as a whole in a transaction, as when Bishop Fulk of Angoulême and Archdeacon Frotier of Saint-Cybard decided to exchange land.⁸⁷ Fulk gave land to Frotier's own holdings (*ad partibus Froterio*). Frotier, meanwhile, gave land to the cathedral itself, described as the land of Saint Peter, for lighting the church, with Fulk acting as the church's representative (*ad partibus Sancti Petri ad illud lumen seu Fulcudo episcopo*). Elsewhere, bishops granted land seemingly belonging to the canons or to the church as a whole. For example, an 879 charter from Angoulême shows two canons, Anatole and Isimbard, arranging to hold for their lifetimes all the land in a certain villa currently held by the bishop and canons, who are described as "rector of the church of Saint Peter, key-bearer of the kingdom of

⁸⁶ *Saint-Étienne* 189 (pp. 181–82).

⁸⁷ *Saint-Cybard* 217 (pp. 191–92). The charter is dated to "before 942" by the editor. Fulk's reign began between 938 and 940, and so the charter can be dated tentatively to 938/940–942.

heaven, or all the congregation [of the church].”⁸⁸ After the two men’s deaths the property was to be returned to the *monasterium* of the cathedral. Atop the witness list, following only the signatures of the donors, was the name of Bishop Oliba, who confirmed “the precarial grant made by me.”⁸⁹ Thus it was Oliba who granted the cathedral’s land to the two canons.

Second, bishops were responsible for the welfare of the institution and the canons and for recovering their lands after times of distress. In the summer of 878, for example, Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers oversaw an effort begun at the behest of Pope John VIII to reassemble the lands of the cathedral church, which had come under outside control during the preceding half-century, in part due to the incursions of the Vikings into Aquitaine.⁹⁰ In 922, Bishop Gunbald of Angoulême, in response to a less defined threat, issued an edict that asserted the general right of the cathedral to tax those acquiring, building, cultivating, or enclosing lands belonging to the church.⁹¹ Gunbald wrote:

Therefore I established, with the advice of the canons of the church and of noble laymen, that any man, either cleric or layman, who might wish to hold [land] or plant vines within two miles of this city, in that land where the power of Saint Peter is known to be present, we decree that he should pay to the power of this church four *denarii* for each *iunctus*,

⁸⁸ Angoulême 51 (pp. 55–56). “Omnia quantumcumque claviger sancti Petri regni coelestis videtur habere in villa Marciaco, super fluvium Carantonam vel ipsius rector aecclesiae, seu omnis congregatio, infra idemque vicaria...”

⁸⁹ Angoulême 51 (p. 56): “Oliba, episcopus, precaria a me facta.”

⁹⁰ Jean Verdon, “Le monachisme en Poitou au Xe siècle,” *Revue Mabillon* 59 (1978), 235–53 at p. 235. For John VIII’s letter on this matter, see JE 3181; MGH Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5, ed. Kehr, no. 100 (pp. 93–94); PL 126: 796–97. On John, see Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 57–60; Thomas F. X. Noble, “The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. McKitterick, pp. 563–86 at pp. 572–73. On efforts to reassemble church lands in Aquitaine after the Viking era, see Anna Trumbore Jones, “Pitying the Desolation of Such a Place: Rebuilding Religious Houses and Constructing Memory in Aquitaine in the Wake of the Viking Incursions,” *Viator* 37 (2006), 85–102, and below, chapter 5.

⁹¹ Angoulême 2 (pp. 2–3). This document is dated November 918 by the editor, but Robert Favreau dates it to 922: “Carolingiens et Robertiens,” in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, pp. 159–89 at p. 188. In this document, Gunbald states that the church had been subject to the persecution of pagans and betrayal of Christians; it is tempting to assume that he referred to the Viking incursions, but this may not be so: see Trumbore Jones, “Pitying the Desolation,” pp. 99–101. Kaiser (*Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 207–8) sees this charter as an attempt to repair the damage done to the cathedral by Vikings and feuds, though not necessarily for the canons’ benefit.

and [a similar rate] for many [*iuncti*], every year on the feast of Saint Peter, after five years have passed.⁹²

This charter shows the bishop keen to protect the prosperity of the church of Saint-Pierre, which included the livelihood of the canons. He was not opposed to settlement on cathedral land, but it seems that settlers had been unwilling to pay the appropriate tax, and he acted to remedy this.

A dramatic case drawn from admittedly problematic sources underlines the bishop's role as protector of his cathedral canons, even when their interests diverged. According to the account of the council of Limoges in 1031 and other texts confected by Ademar of Chabannes, Bishop Jordan and the canons of his cathedral of Saint-Étienne found themselves on opposite sides of a conflict sparked by the attempt by Ademar and the monks of Saint-Martial in Limoges to promote their patron saint from a confessor to an apostle.⁹³ According to Ademar's version of events, Jordan overcame early skepticism about Martial's apostolicity to become an ardent supporter of the cause; it may have appealed to him to be the successor of an apostle, since Martial was the first bishop of Limoges.⁹⁴ The canons, meanwhile, never relented in their opposition to the enterprise, perhaps from the fear that if it were successful, the prestige of the neighboring monastery, now dedicated to an apostle, would overshadow that of the cathedral.⁹⁵ Given

⁹² *Angoulême 2* (pp. 2–3): “Propterea inivi consilio cum canonicis ipsius aeclesiae vel nobilium laicorum ut quicumque homo, sive clericus, sive laicus, infra duos miliarios circa ipsius civitatis, in ipso terraturio quod sancti Petri potestas adesse videtur, aut militare aut vineas aedificare voluerit, pro unoquoque juncto, similiter et pro plurimis, IIII denariis, in festivitate sancti Petri, ad potestatem ipsius aeclesiae, per singulos annos, post quinquennio transacto reddere censuimus.” The editor argues that for *militare* we must understand *limitare*.

⁹³ The council proceedings are found in Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 volumes (Florence and Venice, 1759–1798; repr. Paris, 1899–1927; repr. Graz, 1961), 19:507–48. For a full treatment of these texts and this case, see Anna Trumbore Jones, “Discovering the Aquitanian Church in the Corpus of Ademar of Chabannes,” *The Haskins Society Journal* 19 (2007), 82–98.

⁹⁴ Jordan's early opposition is based on a letter that purports to be written by him, addressed to Pope Benedict VIII, which urges the pope to reject Martial's apostolicity: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 13, pp. 39–42. This letter is problematic, however, and is, according to Richard Landes, a likely forgery of Ademar: “Autour d'Adémar de Chabannes (d. 1034): Précisions chronologiques au sujet du Limousin vers l'an mil,” *BSAHL* 122 (1994), 23–54 at pp. 38–40.

⁹⁵ Ademar makes the clearest accusation against the canons in a circular letter written in the wake of the defeat of the apostolicity campaign in August 1029: PL 141:87–112.

the problems with the evidence for this dispute, it is not possible to be absolutely sure of the positions of the bishop and canons, but it seems likely that they were at odds on this issue.⁹⁶

And yet, Jordan moved to protect his canons at a key moment in the council of Limoges, which ruled on its first day in favor of Martial's apostolic status. On the second day of the council, an unnamed man came before Jordan and his metropolitan, Aimo of Bourges, and reported that the canons had not accepted the council's decision on apostolicity, but were still sowing dissent. Aimo moved to excommunicate the errant canons, but Jordan intervened, pleading with his superior to allow him one more chance to convince his clerics and bring them into line. The archbishop agreed to postpone any judgment.⁹⁷ Thus we see Jordan taking responsibility for the canons as the head of their community and protecting them (at least temporarily) from harm.

Given that elsewhere in Ademar's text Jordan is one of the strongest supporters of apostolicity, it is worth asking why he would defend his canons in this instance.⁹⁸ And yet his solicitude is hardly surprising in the broader context of relations between bishops and cathedral canons in Aquitaine in this period. As we have seen, despite distinctions drawn between their estates and occasional disagreements, bishops and canons would often act together and emphasize their unity as the clerics serving a particular church or saint. Jordan and the canons of Saint-Étienne illustrate this perfectly at Limoges 1031, as described by Ademar: their views of the apostolicity question may have been different, and yet Jordan moved to defend his fellow clergy. Whether this exact scene took place or not—there is profound scholarly disagreement on how many of the events of Limoges 1031 Ademar invented—the incident reinforces our sense of a situation well established in other, more reliable sources.

Finally, bishops would occasionally confirm or oversee gifts to the canons or the cathedral. Such gifts are often described in the charters as having been given "in the hand of" the bishop. In one such case, Archbishop Godfrey II of Bordeaux (1027–1043) participated in the

⁹⁶ See Anna E. Trumbore, "Relations between Bishops and Religious Houses in Aquitaine, ca. 877–ca. 1040" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2003), pp. 301–3; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 208–210, 225–27.

⁹⁷ Mansi 19:532–34.

⁹⁸ This is especially true if Landes is correct that there was great hostility between Jordan and the canons on this point: *Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 237.

donation of land by Counts Berengar and Sancho of Gascony to the canons of the cathedral of Saint-André.⁹⁹ At times, more substantial efforts on the part of bishops were required to ensure the property or security of the canons. Turpio of Limoges and his successor, Ebles, for example, provided physical security for their canons by building fortifications for Saint-Étienne.¹⁰⁰ Turpio and Ebles also feature in a complicated transaction described in two documents issued almost forty years apart. The first charter was a gift of various manses granted to the church of Limoges during the reign of Bishop Turpio by a woman named Deda.¹⁰¹ A second charter regarding this land, dated to 959, was issued by Archbishop Himblard of Lyon (ca. 957–978). According to Himblard, Ebles of Limoges, with the advice of his canons, had written to him about the status of this property. As Himblard explained, the land's history was complex: it had first belonged to the archdiocese of Lyon, and it had been taken away from his predecessors "either through the power of princes, or through the fraud and violence of certain residents of this county of Limoges, or even through the negligence of our predecessors."¹⁰² Since the time of this usurpation, the land had been held by Deda's family and then by the canons. Ebles had contacted Himblard because he wished that the land be held thenceforth by the canons from the archbishops of Lyon. The reason, according to Himblard, was that Ebles feared that the land might fall again into lay hands; it is possible Deda's descendants had challenged the gift, or that other laymen were encroaching on the property. Whatever the explanation, Ebles and the canons were willing to pay a yearly tax to Lyon for land that they had previously held without tax in order to have the arrangement clearly defined.

⁹⁹ Archives Départementales de la Gironde, G334, chapter of Saint-André, nos. 1 and 2. These charters are dated to 1027–1036 in the inventory. Berengar's charter exists in an original (or contemporary copy) and in a fifteenth-century copy, while Sancho's appears in the original. The text of the two documents is almost identical. Each text concludes with "Actum in manu Gotifredi eiusdem ecclesiae venerabilis episcopi."

¹⁰⁰ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47).

¹⁰¹ *Saint-Étienne* 12 (pp. 33–34). As I mentioned above, Deda specified that the land should be held by Bishop Turpio for his lifetime and then passed to the cathedral canons.

¹⁰² *Saint-Étienne* 179 (pp. 172–74): "quam olim constabat nostris praedecessoribus sublatam seu per potentiam principum seu etiam per fraudem et violentiam eiusdem Lemovicensis comitatus quorundam incolarum vel etiam per negligentiam nostrorum predecessorum..."

The role of the bishop as a protector of the canons and leader of the cathedral community is summed up in two documents from opposite ends of this period. In a donation to the cathedral of Limoges in 914, Viscount Hildegard articulated the power of the bishops over the whole cathedral church: in imploring various powers to protect his gift, he appealed to “all bishops who hold that church of canons in their rule in future times.”¹⁰³ In the late 1040s, meanwhile, Bishop Jordan of Limoges, Duke William VII of Aquitaine, and the canons of Saint-Étienne made an agreement concerning the future election of Jordan’s successor. It was particularly stipulated that the chosen candidate should be as diligent in providing for the canons as Jordan had been.¹⁰⁴ The language used is worth noting: the canons had their own common properties (*communiam illorum*), and the bishop was to use these, along with his lands and assets (*episcopatus*), to support them. Not long after this document was issued, when Jordan had died and the difficult task of finding his successor was underway, the canons of Limoges appealed to the duke of Aquitaine to choose as bishop a man who would protect the souls of his flock, oversee the well-being of the canons, and respect the canons’ property.¹⁰⁵ Thus while properties were divided, the oversight and well-being of all were the bishop’s responsibility.

Conclusion

The Aquitanian cathedrals, and the role of the bishop within his church, have proven to be complex and difficult to pin down. This is due in part to the fact that much of the evidence is in the form of terse or opaque documents, in which the use of a few key words or phrases is made to bear great weight and significance. But it is also, I would argue, because the institution and the place of each member within it were organic, changing, and subject to different factors at different moments. My examination of both the assets of the church and the roles of the bishops bears this out. Cathedral property was understood simultaneously as separated between common and private interests, between the

¹⁰³ *Saint-Étienne* 18 (p. 43): “Unde obsecro clementissimis regibus tam presentibus quam et futuris, omnibus episcopis qui per secutura tempora ipsam canonicam in regimine habuerint...”

¹⁰⁴ *Saint-Étienne* 181 (pp. 174–76). This document is dated by the editor to 1045–1050.

¹⁰⁵ *Saint-Étienne* 137 (p. 147); see also 121 (pp. 138–40).

canons and the bishops, and yet also as unified in support of the saint and the church. The bishop was the leader of the cathedral community, expected to oversee the cathedral estates and the behavior of his canons, and yet he could overstep his bounds and be chided for transgressing the independence of the canons. All the clergy, of course, served the holy place and the saint. It was not, therefore, a case of either-or but of both-and. There was no clear progression in this period toward a clarification of this situation, and no evidence of sustained agitation on the part of the canons for complete autonomy from the bishop's oversight, despite occasional disputes between the two. It seems that the cathedral community was comfortable with this ambiguity, and we should not seek to impose more coherence upon it.

This is the first example—we shall see many more—of the networks of bonds in which bishops were entangled and of the fluid and multifaceted nature of their power. Even within the limited confines of his activity at the cathedral, his concerns encompassed land and lordship as well as supervision and protection of his clergy. The man and his office, his family's lands and his church's lands, the canons' interests and his own, all blur. Disputes, naturally, arise in such complex situations, but rather than break down these relationships, they prompt reordering and renegotiation.

CHAPTER THREE

IF THE COUNT SHOULD SEND A BISHOP: LAY AUTHORITY AND THE BISHOPS OF AQUITAINE

In the late spring of 977, Bishop Hildegard of Limoges gave a privilege to the Limousin monastery of Uzerche that made the house independent from lay control.¹ Hildegard's account of his reasons for issuing the document made it seem like something of a family affair. He tells us that he was urged into action by his parents, Viscount Gerald of Limoges and his wife Rotild; by his eldest brother, Guy, the heir to the viscomital seat; and by Guy's wife, Emma, among others. In the course of the text, Hildegard reconfirmed the gift given years earlier by Emma's parents, Viscount Ademar of Limoges and his wife Melisende, as well as donations made by other family members and faithful men.² This text is striking because it shows the bishop doing two things at once: on the one hand, as bishop, he is altering the status of the house of Uzerche and using the episcopal weapon of excommunication to secure its new standing. On the other hand, he is acting as a member of the viscomital house of Limoges, which had a special bond with the monastery: Hildegard's munificence was encouraged by his relatives, and his generosity would be echoed in a cluster of documents from other members of the family, including Hildegard's successor bishops—his brother, Hilduin, and his nephew, Gerald. Indeed, the influence of his family may have been the reason that Hildegard's reign as bishop marked a change from previous relations between the see and Uzerche,

¹ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37); *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65). The date actually given in the document is May 1037, which must be incorrect, as Hildegard died in 990. Jean Becquet and Jean-Baptiste Champeval, the editor of the Uzerche charters, agree that 977 is the most likely correct date.

² Viscount Gerald succeeded Viscount Ademar in Limoges, and in order to solidify this succession, Ademar's daughter, Emma, married Gerald's son and heir, Guy: Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes et vicomtes de Limoges antérieurs à l'an 1000*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 18 (Paris, 1874), pp. 77–80. For more recent work on the viscomital family of Limoges and its various relations, see Christian Settipani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien: Études sur quelques grandes familles d'Aquitaine et du Languedoc du IX^e au XI^e siècles* (Toulousain, Périgord, Limousin, Poitou, Auvergne), *Prosopographica et Genealogica* 5 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 226–62.

which had occasionally been tempestuous.³ This privilege serves as a reminder, therefore, of the ties that bound bishops to their families and to the policies, priorities, and customs of their social group. It would be inaccurate to see Hildegard's actions at Uzerche outside of the contexts both of his family and of his office—he wielded episcopal power here, but in pursuit of a family policy.⁴

Arguably more ink has been spilled by historians of the tenth- and early eleventh-century church on relations between the clergy and the laity than on any other subject. With regard to bishops, two particular types of connections have been discussed: those between a bishop and his kin, which could shape episcopal policy, and those between a bishop and a lay ruler, who may have been responsible for his appointment. In some cases, of course, the two categories merged, as the ruler who appointed a bishop might also be a relative. The network of obligations and interests created by such ties is often seen as defining the episcopate in this period. For scholars of Germany and Northern Italy, questions about the extent, nature, and functioning of imperial power over church appointments have been a center of interest.⁵ This is not least because of the assumption that the reaction against that system and similar arrangements in other regions would help drive the program of the Reform papacy at the end of this period.⁶ In France, Catalonia, and elsewhere, scholarly focus on the social and political changes of the tenth and eleventh centuries has led to extensive exploration of the role of episcopal offices in the transformation of state power.⁷ Meanwhile,

³ Hildegard acknowledged in this charter that his predecessor, Bishop Ebles, had encouraged the gift by Ademar and Melisende to Uzerche; Ebles's predecessor, Turpio, had viewed the house with hostility, however: see the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, which is found in *Uzerche*, pp. 13–50; for the passages concerning Turpio and Ebles, see pp. 14–20.

⁴ For an eloquent summary of this dual influence, based primarily on work focused on the German church, see Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. Patrick J. Geary (Chicago, 1991), pp. 186–201.

⁵ Reuter, “The ‘Imperial Church System,’”; Fleckenstein, “Problematik und Gestalt” in *Reich und Kirche*, ed. Schmid; Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques et pouvoir*, pp. 11–13.

⁶ Constance Brittain Bouchard, “The Bishop as Aristocrat: The Case of Hugh of Chalon,” in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, pp. 37–49 at p. 48.

⁷ The nature and profundity of these changes has occasioned vigorous debate since the publication in 1953 of Georges Duby's *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*. For highlights of the discussion, see Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale: X^e–XII^e siècles*, 2nd edition, La Nouvelle Cléo 16 (Paris, 1991); Bisson, “The ‘Feudal Revolution,’” and responses by Dominique Barthélemy, Stephen

the involvement of prominent families in disposing of bishoprics has raised the question of the extent to which these offices functioned as private property in this period.⁸ Although most recent contributions to these discussions have left behind the anachronistic value judgments present in earlier work on this “church in the hands of the laity,” it is still true that the tension at the heart of episcopal office—the simultaneous wielding of secular and religious power—occasionally prompts discomfort.⁹

Aquitainian bishops, like those of other regions in this period, were tied to the lay aristocracy in manifold ways. They came from powerful families, ranging from those at the highest levels of the political hierarchy in the region to the rising castellan class. The bishops were also chosen by and worked with the dukes of Aquitaine, who were deeply involved in the church in their realm. For these bishops, it would have seemed foreign to separate their worldly from their religious duties, their activities on behalf of their churches and dioceses from those that benefited their families and their ruler. In this chapter, after establishing the manner in which these links were made through birth and election, I shall explore the concrete ways in which those affiliations influenced bishops’ behavior in their office, particularly their relations with religious houses. In particular, the decades around the year 1000 saw a striking evolution in relations between the bishops and dukes of Aquitaine, resulting in the formation of a coherent cadre of bishops who worked together and with the duke to support their mutual interests, most famously in the movement known as the Peace of God.

D. White, Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham, and Thomas Bisson. For a recent succinct summary, see Thomas Head, “Peace and Power,” pp. 1–2.

⁸ For opposing views on this issue for the bishoprics of southern France, see Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 349–56 and 445–46; Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 300–11.

⁹ Amann and Dumas, *L’Église au pouvoir des laïques*. Marcel Garaud, in an article on church property in Poitou, labels this as the period of “La mainmise des comtes de Poitou sur l’évêché et les abbayes poitevines”: “Observations sur les vicissitudes de la propriété ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Poitiers du IX^e au XIII^e siècle,” *BSAO* 4th series, 5 (1960), 357–77, at p. 364. For recent examinations of the two sides of the episcopal office and scholarly response to it, see Parisse, “Princes laïques et/ou moines”; Head, “Postscript: The Ambiguous Bishop,” in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones. For a study of the use of episcopal office by lay noble families in Provence, see Florian Mazel, *La noblesse et l’Église en Provence, fin X^e–début XIV^e siècle: L’exemple des familles d’Agoult-Simiane, de Baux et de Marseille* (Paris, 2002), pp. 65–83.

The Making of a Bishop: Birth and Election

To a great extent, the bishops of Aquitaine in this period were born to their office: all those whose origins are known to us came from eminent families in the region, a fact which mirrors the situation in the rest of southern France, and indeed in Western Europe as a whole.¹⁰ Turpio of Limoges, for example, was most likely the uncle of Rainald, viscount of Aubusson.¹¹ His successor, Ebles of Limoges, was the brother and uncle of successive counts of Poitou and dukes of Aquitaine. After Ebles's death, the viscomital family of Limoges provided the three subsequent bishops of that see. Bishop Martin of Périgueux was the product of not one but two eminent bloodlines, as the son of Boso the Old, lord of the March, and his wife, Emma, who was the daughter of William I, count of Périgord.¹² Similarly, Archbishop Gumbald of Bordeaux was the brother of the duke of Gascony, William-Sancho, and a relative of the counts of Anjou.¹³ Other bishops came from castellan families, including Hugh of Jarnac and Grimoard of Mussidan, successive bishops of Angoulême; Grimoard's brother, Islo of Saintes; and Jordan of Laron, who became bishop of Limoges in 1023/1024.¹⁴

¹⁰ Biget, "L'épiscopat du Rouergue," pp. 181–99; Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 344–46; Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, pp. 182 and 188–98; Jane Martin-dale, "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages," *Past and Present* 75 (1977), 5–45 at pp. 35–36.

¹¹ Settipani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, pp. 250–59. Rainald is mentioned in Turpio's charter for Saint-Augustin: *Saint-Étienne* 17 (pp. 39–41). Ademar also tells us that Turpio was uncle to another viscount, Robert of Aubusson, and that Turpio was related to Ademar's own family: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47) and 3.45 (pp. 164–65). Turpio's brother was Aimo, abbot of Saint-Martial: Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Les classiques d'histoire de France au Moyen Âge* 39 (Paris, 1998), p. 8 (entry for 936).

¹² *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis sive epitome gestorum quorundam ecclesiae Petragoricensis praesulum, ex duobus apographis calamo exaratis*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Philippe Labbe, 2 volumes (Paris, 1657), 2:737–40 at pp. 737–38. In another source on the bishops of Périgueux Martin is omitted from the episcopal list: *Notitia de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, volume 14, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1877), pp. 221–22. Muriel Laharie and Christian Settipani accept Martin's existence, however: "Évêques et société," pp. 344–45; *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, pp. 176–80.

¹³ Head, "The Development of the Peace," p. 668; Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000–1249* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 32–36.

¹⁴ For the families of Hugh and Grimoard, see *Historia pontificum*, c. 22, p. 14 and c. 23, pp. 15–16 respectively; discussion in Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 207; family tree in Settipani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, p. 175. On Islo's relationship to Grimoard, see Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.51 (p. 171). On the lords of Laron, see Settipani,

These bishops were expected to remain closely tied to their families after their investiture and to continue to serve their families' interests. The control of a bishopric, sometimes for several generations, served as a tool used by a family to raise its fortunes.

The bishops' aristocratic origins manifest themselves both in their personal piety and in the particular range of resources they could draw on in performing their duties. Cécile Treffort has described the characteristic elements of ducal piety in this period—gifts to and foundations of monasteries, pilgrimages, and retirement to monasteries—and the list might be the same for contemporary bishops.¹⁵ They went on pilgrimage: Isembert I of Poitiers and Jordan of Limoges both went to Jerusalem around 1030, following the example of Count William of Angoulême.¹⁶ Isembert would later die at Pavia while on pilgrimage to Rome.¹⁷ Bishops gave extensive gifts to religious houses in exchange for prayers for their souls, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter. There are also cases of bishops who retired from their offices and retreated to monasteries. It is speculated that Ebles of Limoges may have done so, due to a charter from ca. 976 in which he refers to himself as the “former bishop of Limoges.”¹⁸ The *Historia pontificum*, meanwhile, states that Hugh of Angoulême gave up the bishopric before his death and

La noblesse du Midi carolingien, pp. 240–49. Close relatives of Jordan appear in the charters. Jordan and his mother, Adalgarde, gave a gift to the monks of Saint-Martial in 1027: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (pp. 42–44). Jordan's sister, Atiburgis, gave a gift to the monastery of Uzerche: *Uzerche* 382 (p. 230). Other mentions of members of the Laron family include: Roger of Laron gave gifts to Saint-Martial (Alfred Leroux, Émile Molinier, and Antoine Thomas, eds., *Documents historiques bas-latins, provençaux et français concernant principalement la Marche et le Limousin*, 2 volumes [Limoges, 1883], 2:12–13, especially nos. 32–33) and appears in *Uzerche* 47 (pp. 79–82); Ademar and Guy of Laron appeared in a charter of the cathedral church of Limoges (*Saint-Étienne* 26 [pp. 51–52]); Ademar also appeared in *Uzerche* 460 (pp. 257–58). On Ademar of Laron, see Bernadette Barrière, “Généalogies et lignages: Un problème de transmission lignagère en Limousin au XI^e siècle,” in *Croyances, pouvoirs et société: Des Limousins aux Français. Études offertes à Louis Pérouas*, ed. Michel Cassan, Jean Boutier, and Nicole Lemaître (Treignac, 1988), pp. 103–27.

¹⁵ Cécile Treffort, “Le comte de Poitiers, duc d'Aquitaine, et l'Église aux alentours de l'an mil (970–1030),” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000), 395–445 at pp. 403–17.

¹⁶ *Historia pontificum*, c. 27, p. 24. Jordan's pilgrimage is also referred to in the coda of a gift he made with his mother to Saint-Martial: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (pp. 42–44). Other bishops also went to Jerusalem, including Radulf of Périgueux (r. 1000/1–1011/2) (Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.48 [p. 167]), and Hilduin of Limoges and his brother, Viscount Guy (Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.40 [p. 160]).

¹⁷ *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 116–17.

¹⁸ *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50).

withdrew to Saint-Cybard, citing as evidence the fact that he was found in his tomb without his episcopal ring and staff.¹⁹ These men's motives for retiring were probably very similar to those of dukes and kings: by removing themselves from office while still alive, they were able both to secure the position for their chosen successors and to make amends through prayer for their less savory activities while in office.

Yet some of those actions deemed potentially problematic for their salvation, which were as characteristic of their aristocratic origins as the impulse to abandon them, were also crucial to the functioning of these bishops in office. Bishops built walls and castles and influenced powerful laymen on behalf of religious institutions in their dioceses, using skills and connections that stemmed from their birth.²⁰ They were expected to be able to protect the religious communities and lay residents in their charge in both this world and the next, a task they could fulfill, in large part, because of their aristocratic origins.

As for their ecclesiastical careers before their rise to the episcopal throne, only one bishop of Aquitaine, Seguin, archbishop of Bordeaux (ca. 999–ca. 1015), is known to have come to his see from a monastery.²¹ Several other bishops emerged from collegial communities. Both Alboin of Poitiers and Ebles of Limoges held positions at the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers before taking their bishoprics.²² Jordan of Limoges was lay provost of Saint-Léonard de Noblat.²³ Three successive

¹⁹ *Historia pontificum*, c. 22, p. 14.

²⁰ Turpio and Ebles of Limoges, for example, were praised by Ademar of Chabannes for rebuilding religious houses and building walls to protect them; as we shall see in subsequent chapters, bishops could also prevail upon powerful men to reinforce these actions with threats of worldly punishment for those who violated such communities: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47).

²¹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.48 (p. 167). It is possible that Hilduin of Limoges came to the bishopric from a monastic post. *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65) and 134 (pp. 154–55) both mention “Abbot Alduin”, and Jean Becquet (“Les évêques,” p. 83) assumes this is Hilduin, but he does not say what house Hilduin was abbot of, and he rejects the assertion in *Gallia Christiana* 2:1491 that Hilduin was abbot of Brantôme. Robert de Lasteyrie, in a footnote to his own edition of the transaction recorded in *Uzerche* 134, claims that Hilduin held the title of abbot because he was head of the community of canons of Saint-Étienne before becoming bishop. It is not common to find the abbatial title used in the cathedrals of this period, although de Lasteyrie cites one earlier example: De Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives 18 (p. 125 n. 6).

²² It is assumed that Alboin of Saint-Hilaire and Alboin of Poitiers are the same. Alboin appears in two charters as *aedituus* and *claviger* of Saint-Hilaire, respectively: *Saint-Hilaire* 15 (pp. 19–20); *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7). Ebles first appeared as treasurer at Saint-Hilaire in a document from 941/2: *Saint-Hilaire* 18 (pp. 22–23).

²³ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.57 (p. 178).

bishops of Poitiers—Peter, Gilbert, and Isembert I—served among the canons of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre before becoming bishop.²⁴ For the majority of the bishops in this period, however, their early ecclesiastical careers remain a mystery. It is possible that some, like Gerald of Limoges, were not clerics at all before their ordination as bishops. We know this of Gerald because Ademar of Chabannes describes resistance from other bishops to raising Gerald from layman to bishop in one day. It may be that other bishops received similar promotions that went unremarked.²⁵

The will of the duke prevailed in Gerald's case, an apt illustration of the fact that the duke's choice was often the determining factor in the making of bishops in Aquitaine in the second half of this period.²⁶ Ducal influence could be felt in any diocese in Aquitaine, but it is in Poitiers and Limoges that we have the most evidence for their role in the choice of bishops.²⁷ In Poitiers, for example, the period extend-

²⁴ For Peter, see *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7), 65 (pp. 58–61), 118 (p. 87), 126 (p. 90), 183 (p. 117), 184 (pp. 118–19), 232 (pp. 150–51); *Nouaillé* 46 (pp. 81–82). For Gilbert see *Saint-Cyprien* 130 (pp. 91–92), 132 (pp. 92–93), and 401 (pp. 248–54). For Isembert see *Saint-Cyprien* 261 (p. 169), 369 (pp. 227–28), and 384 (pp. 236–37). In *Saint-Cyprien* 384 and Pon and Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La fondation de l'abbaye*, no. 4, pp. 215–18, Isembert is not given an ecclesiastical title, but is referred to only as the bishop's nephew.

²⁵ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.49 (p. 169).

²⁶ The kings of France were rarely involved in the choice of bishops in this period. The two examples of royal involvement come at the extreme ends of our period. Bishop Oliba of Angoulême (ca. 875–892) was appointed by Charles the Bald: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.19 (pp. 144–45). Bishop Jordan of Limoges, meanwhile, saw his election challenged by his metropolitan, Gauzlin of Bourges, and King Robert the Pious (see below, pp. 73–77).

²⁷ Ademar of Chabannes, for example, attributed the selection of Godfrey II of Bordeaux (1027–1043) to William the Great of Aquitaine and Duke Sancho of Gascony: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.69 (p. 189). The see of Bordeaux had been under the control of the dukes of Gascony in the early part of our period, but the dukes of Aquitaine increased their influence over the selection of the archbishops when they gained more political control over Gascony in the eleventh century: see Mussot-Goulard, *Les Princes de Gascogne*, pp. 169–86 on Duke Sancho and pp. 205–6 on developments later in the eleventh century. The bishops of Agen, meanwhile, remained firmly tied to Gascony and did not appear in Aquitaine in this period, despite being suffragans of Bordeaux. It is also possible that the dukes were responsible for the nomination of Arnald of Périgueux (1011/12–1037) and Islo of Saintes (ca. 1002–1038). For arguments on the wider influence of the duke in episcopal elections, see Françoise Brisset, "Guillaume le Grand et l'Église," *BSAO* 4th series, 12 (1972), 441–60 at p. 444; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 202 n. 481; Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:205; Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections épiscopales dans l'Église de France du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Étude sur la décadence du principe électif, 814–1150* (Paris, 1891), pp. 50–53. The evidence for the cases of Arnald and Islo is less clear, however. For the consecration of Arnald,

ing from the reign of Bishop Gilbert (975–1024) through Isembert II (1047–1087) saw three generations of the same family follow each other in the bishopric, with the permission of the dukes. This apparent harmony between the ruling family and the bishops had not always existed, however. In the late ninth century, Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers was drawn into the struggle between three powerful families for control of the county of Poitou. A diploma issued by King Odo of France around 894 granted the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire to Hecfrid, at the request of Odo's brother Robert (later King Robert I) and Aymar, a claimant to the county of Poitou.²⁸ The previous count of Poitou, Ramnulf II, had died in 890, leaving an illegitimate son, Ebles Manzer. In 892, Aymar, who was the descendent of Emenon, one of Ramnulf II's predecessors as count, challenged Ebles Manzer's right to rule the county. Ebles was defeated and sought refuge with his father's allies, Count Gerald of Aurillac and William the Pious, count of Auvergne and duke of Aquitaine. A third claimant appeared when King Odo tried to give Poitou to his brother, Robert, but Aymar was able to fend off this attempt; he recovered the city of Poitiers in 893 and held the county until 902, when Ebles Manzer regained power.²⁹ In 894, when Hecfrid was given Saint-Hilaire, Aymar was in control of Poitou, and apparently he and Robert had reached some kind of rapprochement by this time, because they both approached the king to ask that the grant be made. Why would these two former enemies both want Hecfrid to hold Saint-Hilaire? It seems likely, given the timeline presented above, that Robert and Aymar had ceased fighting in Poitou by this time, but that they both wanted to keep Ebles Manzer from regaining power. To aid in this goal, they needed an ally to hold the important house of Saint-Hilaire, in order to keep it and its assets from Ebles.

If this scenario is correct, Ebles Manzer might well have resented Bishop Hecfrid, but by the time Ebles had secured the county Hecfrid

see Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.48 (p. 167). The consecration of Islo is not described in the primary sources, to my knowledge. See also Jane Martindale, "Peace and War in Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine," in *Medieval Knighthood 4: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference*, 1990, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 147–76, esp. pp. 160–61 and n. 39.

²⁸ *Saint-Hilaire* 12 (p. 16).

²⁹ For a description of this struggle for the county of Poitou in the late Carolingian and Robertian era, see Favreau, "Carolingiens et Robertiens," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, p. 163; see Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:8–14 for a discussion of Emenon's career and 1:44–73 for Aymar and Ebles Manzer (esp. p. 51 for the incident at Saint-Hilaire involving Hecfrid).

had been dead for two years. It is possible that Ebles transferred his hostility, or at least his wariness of bishops as potentially powerful allies of his enemies, to Hecfrid's successor, Frotier II. Very little is known about Ebles Manzer's relationship with Frotier, other than the tantalizing suggestion that he removed Frotier from his bishopric at some point during his reign. The final clause of a donation charter in the cartulary of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien reads: "These things were done on the same day that Count William restored the power of Saint Peter to Bishop Frotier after the death of his father Ebles, in the year of our Lord 932, with King Raoul reigning."³⁰ Although this document suggests that Ebles Manzer was dead by 932, other, more compelling evidence shows that Ebles died in 934, indicating that this charter must have been written thereafter.³¹

Unfortunately, the events referred to in the dating clause are not as easy to establish as the date itself. The charter states that William Tow-Head restored the power of Saint Peter to Frotier after Ebles Manzer's death, and the most likely explanation is that Ebles deposed Frotier and that his son William reinstated him. It is not possible to reconstruct anything further from this shred of evidence, however: we cannot determine when the deposition occurred, what Ebles's motives were, or whether another bishop was appointed in the interim. Moreover, it would be unwise to generalize about Ebles's attitude toward all bishops from this incident, or even about the entirety of his relationship with Frotier.³²

³⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 126 (p. 90). The gift was made by Isembert and Oda and was confirmed by their son Peter, provost of the church of Poitiers, who later ruled as bishop: "Ipso die acta sunt hec quo reddidit Guillelmus comes potestatem Sancti Petri Frotherio episcopo post mortem Eboli patris sui, anno Domni DCCCCXXXII, regnante Radulfo rege."

³¹ Another document from the cartulary of Saint-Cyprien (*Saint-Cyprien* 528 [p. 318]) shows Ebles Manzer making a gift in the eleventh regnal year of King Raoul, which ran between July 13, 933 and July 13, 934 (Favreau, "Carolingiens et Robertiens," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, pp. 167–69). The original document from this transaction also survives in the Archives Départementales de la Vienne in Poitiers (formerly carton 12, dossier 3; now pièces restaurées, no. 16), and this original is dated more specifically to January 934 (the original is printed in footnote on pp. 318–19 of the published cartulary). If we accept the date in this original document over the date in *Saint-Cyprien* 126, which exists only in a cartulary copy, then it seems that Ebles Manzer was still alive in January 934. If William Tow-Head restored Frotier to his bishopric after his father's death, we must conclude that Ebles Manzer was dead by December 934, when Frotier appears as bishop in a charter from the abbey of Nouaillé (*Nouaillé* 46 [pp. 81–82]). Ebles likely died between January and December of 934.

³² Alfred Richard concluded from the confrontation with Frotier that Ebles may have had a reserved attitude toward episcopal power in general; he further suggested that Frotier's rebuilding of Saint-Cyprien and his gifts to the monastery were a way

A document from the spring of 926, for example, shows Frotier and Ebles acting together—with no indication of hostility between them—to confirm a restoration of certain properties in Poitou to Saint-Martin of Tours.³³ If Ebles later deposed Frotier, their conflict had not necessarily been of long standing.

The early ambivalence in the relations between Ebles Manzer, Hecfrid, and Frotier set the tone for the succeeding decades, when the bishops of Poitiers and the count/dukes showed no signs of the close working relationship that would arise later.³⁴ Frotier's successor, Alboin, appeared in no surviving charters with the count/dukes. Bishop Peter, meanwhile, was a prominent witness as Count Geoffrey Grisegonelle of Anjou, a rival of the dukes of Aquitaine, became lay protector of lands belonging to the convent of Sainte-Croix in the city of Poitiers.³⁵ In a ceremony at the abbey, Peter looked on as the count kissed the wood of the convent's most famous relic, a piece of the True Cross, and swore that he would fulfill his obligations faithfully. Geoffrey's action was partly motivated by a desire to increase his influence in Aquitaine, undermining the power of his longtime foe, Duke William Iron-Arm.³⁶ While Peter may have witnessed this act simply in an administrative capacity, confirming the protection of the assets of a house in his diocese, it is unlikely that he would have been unaware of its political significance, and thus his

of repaying William Tow-Head for restoring him to his bishopric (Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:72 and 83–84). Marcel Garaud ("Observations sur les vicissitudes," p. 364) saw Ebles Manzer's actions as an adoption of royal behavior in the manner of the Carolingians.

³³ The document was part of the "pancarte noire" cartulary of Saint-Martin, which was destroyed in 1793. The charter is printed in Jean Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et ducs de Guyenne contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable en France depuis l'an 811 jusqu'au Roy Louis le Jeune* (Paris, 1647), pp. 218–20; see also Émile Mabilley, "La pancarte noire de Saint-Martin de Tours, brûlée en 1793 et restituée d'après les textes imprimés et manuscrits," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 17 (1865), 319–542 at no. 116, pp. 446–47.

³⁴ Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," p. 432.

³⁵ Pierre de Monsabert, ed., "Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers," *Revue Mabillon* 9 (1913), no. 1 (pp. 57–58). For a general history of Sainte-Croix, see Yvonne Labande-Mailfert, et al., eds., *Histoire de l'abbaye Sainte-Croix de Poitiers: Quatorze siècles de vie monastique*, MSAO 4th series, 19 (Poitiers, 1986–1987).

³⁶ Bernard Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle, Count of the Angevins, 960–987: A Study in French Politics," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1985), 3–67, esp. p. 19; idem, "A Study in Feudal Politics: Relations between Fulk Nerra and William the Great, 995–1030," *Viator* 7 (1976), 111–21, esp. p. 114 n. 11; Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1972), 1:6; Head, "The Development of the Peace," p. 660; Labande-Mailfert, et al., eds., *Histoire de l'abbaye*, pp. 89–90; Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:115–17.

presence may also indicate that the bishop and the duke were not close allies. It is possible that the apparent lack of cooperation between the dukes and the bishops of Poitiers in this period was due in part to the presence of Bishop Ebles of Limoges, brother and uncle, respectively, to William Tow-Head and William Iron-Arm. Ebles was very active in Poitevin religious houses from his appointment as treasurer of Saint-Hilaire in 937 to his death in ca. 976/977, and he may have effectively taken the place of his Poitevin colleagues at the ducal court.

Beginning with the reign of Gilbert in 975, there would be a major shift in the relationship between the bishops of Poitiers and the dukes. Gilbert's family, known as the Isemberts, had power bases near Poitiers at Chauvigny and Châtellerault, and they would provide at least three successive bishops to the see, with the support of the dukes.³⁷ It is not entirely clear why the dukes did not place their own relatives in the bishopric, rather than supporting the tenure of the Isemberts. It may be that William Iron-Arm and William the Great had no male siblings—none, to my knowledge, are mentioned in the sources—who would have been the obvious candidates to take over Ebles's position. Whatever the reason, the fact that the see remained in the hands of the Isemberts for several generations indicates that the dukes were either content with their allies or could not dislodge them; given that this was a time when the dukes exercised considerable influence over the choice of bishops in the Aquitanian church, the former seems more likely. In return for the support of their powerful friends, the bishops performed important functions, such as presiding at councils, monastic foundations, and donation ceremonies. The year 975 inaugurated a period that has long been described as a time of the complete subjugation of the bishops of Poitiers to the will of the dukes, although recent scholarship has challenged this assumption, acknowledging a close partnership between the two families but also pointing out areas of independent action by the bishops.³⁸

³⁷ On the family that controlled the episcopate, see Jacques Duguët, "La famille des Isembert, évêques de Poitiers, et ses relations (X^e–XI^e siècles)," *BSAO* 4th series, 11 (1971), 163–86; Guy DeVailly, "Les grandes familles et l'épiscopat dans l'ouest de la France et les pays de la Loire," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 27 (1984), 49–55; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 194; Settapani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, pp. 268–69. It is also possible that Gilbert was related to his predecessor, Peter I: see Duguët, "La famille des Isembert," pp. 167–69; Settapani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, pp. 268–69. The end of this episcopal dynasty came with the death of Isembert II in ca. 1087.

³⁸ See below (pp. 86 and following) for more detail on the cooperation between dukes as bishops, as well as Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," pp. 431–33; Anna Trumbore

There is also relatively detailed evidence of the dukes' involvement in the elections of the bishops of Limoges in this period, thanks in large part to the chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes.³⁹ Bishop Ebles of Limoges, brother and uncle to successive dukes of Aquitaine, was followed by Hildegard, who was the brother of Viscount Guy of Limoges. There is no evidence for the manner of Hildegard's selection, although it is tempting to think that William Iron-Arm was involved in the choice. Matters become clearer with the appointment of Hildegard's successor: his brother, Hilduin, was chosen at the behest of William Iron-Arm and consecrated at Angoulême by the archbishop of Bordeaux and his suffragans of Périgueux, Saintes, and Angoulême.⁴⁰ The selection and consecration of Hilduin were performed without the consent of Limoges's metropolitan, Archbishop Dagobert of Bourges. The duke's appointment of a bishop of Limoges was an attempt to bring the see effectively, if not officially, into the archdiocese of Bordeaux, thus perpetuating the strong ties created under Ebles and making the ecclesiastical geography of the region more accurately reflect the dimensions of William's political realm.

There appears to have been no resistance to Hilduin's investiture as bishop. This would change with his successors, however. After Hilduin's death in June 1014, Duke William the Great chose as the next bishop Gerald, Hilduin's nephew.⁴¹ There were two major irregularities in Gerald's consecration. First, he was not in clerical orders of any kind when he became bishop, and so he had first to be consecrated in all

Jones, "Lay Magnates, Religious Houses, and the Role of the Bishop in Aquitaine (877–1050)," in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, pp. 21–39.

³⁹ For a description of relations between the dukes of Aquitaine and the bishops of Limoges, see François de Fontette, "Évêques de Limoges et comtes de Poitou au XI^e siècle," *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1965), 1:553–58; Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 134–41; Brisset, "Guillaume le Grand," pp. 444–47; Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," pp. 433–35.

⁴⁰ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (pp. 156–57).

⁴¹ There is some argument about the date of Gerald's accession. It took place in November: possibly the first November after Hilduin's death, November 1014. Richard Landes has argued, however, that given that we have a more secure death date for Gerald—8 November 1023 having ruled eight years and two days—it is more likely that he was consecrated 6 November 1015: "Autour d'Adémar," pp. 32–33. On the ritual of Gerald's installation, see Timothy Reuter, "Bishops, Rites of Passage, and the Symbolism of State in Pre-Gregorian Europe," in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, pp. 23–36 at pp. 31–32. It is also worth noting that Gerald was also treasurer of the house of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, a house that was particularly attached to the dukes in this period: see Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.50 (p. 170); *Saint-Hilaire* 84 (p. 83). This is another indication of the links between Gerald and the dukes.

the lower ecclesiastical orders. This jumping of rank delayed Gerald's consecration by fifteen days, as the assembled Aquitanian bishops balked at carrying it out. The ducal will did eventually prevail, but this opposition should serve as a corrective to the idea that the suffragan bishops of Bordeaux unquestioningly carried out the orders of the dukes. Second, the consecration took place at Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, at the duke's behest, without any meaningful participation by Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges. Ademar of Chabannes tells us that Gauzlin was not present because he had yet to be accepted into the see of Bourges, although other contemporary sources do not emphasize Gauzlin's trouble in taking office as much as does Ademar. Whatever the case, it seems that Gauzlin did not appear in person but sent monks as his representatives, who had no visible influence over the nomination.⁴² A second ceremony of investiture was performed later, at Limoges.

The nomination of Gerald's successor, Jordan, stirred even more widespread furor. Ademar of Chabannes recounts that after the death of Bishop Gerald,⁴³ Viscount Guy and other princes of Limoges fought for control of the position, with some trying to lay hold of the see

⁴² Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.49 (pp. 168–69). Ademar asserted elsewhere that Gauzlin was the illegitimate half-brother of a king of France (it is often assumed that he was Robert the Pious's half-brother) and that Gauzlin's illegitimacy provoked objections to Robert's appointment of Gauzlin as abbot of Fleury and archbishop of Bourges: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.39 (p. 160). The editors of Gauzlin's biography, written by Andrew of Fleury, point out that this rumor of illegitimacy is not repeated elsewhere, and that Gauzlin's difficulties in taking over the see of Bourges were more short-lived than Ademar implies. Ademar's hostility to Gauzlin may have stemmed in part (they theorize) from hostility over the election of Gerald of Limoges's successor, Jordan, as well as matters involving the apostolicity campaign for Saint-Martial: see André de Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury*, ed. and trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1969), pp. 18–23 in the introduction and pp. 32–33, 50–63 in the text.

⁴³ There is debate about when Gerald died. All the primary sources agree that Gerald died having occupied the see for eight years. Ademar recounts that an inscription was placed on Gerald's tomb at Charroux, giving a death date of 3 Ides November: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.50 (p. 170). A different death date—that of 10 Kalends December—is given in the obituary of Saint-Martial (Leroux, Molinier, and Thomas, eds., *Documents historiques*, 1:78), if we accept that the entry "Girulus episcopus" refers to Gerald of Limoges. If we assume that Gerald's predecessor, Bishop Hilduin, died in June of 1014 and that Gerald was consecrated the following November and ruled for eight years, it would seem that he died in November 1022, which is the date given by the later chronicle of Stephen Maleu (in Becquet, "Les évêques," p. 83). Becquet accepts the dates of 1014–1022 for Gerald's reign. The *Annales Lemovicenses* and the chronicle of Bernard Itier, however, assert that Gerald died in 1023 (*Annales Lemovicenses*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), p. 252; Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaître, p. 13). The date of 1023 is either an error, or it counts from a different consecration date; Richard Landes argues for the latter position, stating that

through simony. In the midst of this confusion, the people and clergy of Limoges turned to Duke William the Great. William and his loyal ally, Count William of Angoulême, held a meeting in the presence of the princes of Limoges to decide the matter. The duke chose Jordan, a member of the castellan family of Laron, who was the provost of Saint-Léonard de Noblat, to be the next bishop. Ademar was careful to distinguish between William's involvement in the election and that of the princes of Limoges, pointing out that while the Limousins tried to use simony in appointing a bishop, William chose Jordan without accepting payment.⁴⁴

This lack of simoniacal impropriety did not mollify Gauzlin of Bourges, who was prompt to react to this flouting of his rights as metropolitan. At a council in Paris, in the presence and with the support of King Robert II the Pious, Gauzlin excommunicated the entire diocese of Limoges, with the exception of the monastery of Saint-Martial, and forbade Jordan from exercising the office of bishop.⁴⁵ Ademar explained that Duke William and Jordan had not involved Gauzlin in Jordan's election because they felt Gauzlin would demand simoniacal payment for consecrating Jordan, although given Ademar's other questionable statements about Gauzlin, this may be untrue. William surely wished to

Gerald was consecrated in November 1015 and died November 1023 (Landes, "Autour d'Ademar," pp. 32–33).

⁴⁴ This ceremony was followed by others orchestrated (at William the Great's instruction) by the duke's son, the future William VI the Fat: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.57 (pp. 178–79). For later accounts of Jordan's election and consecration, see Bernard Gui, *Nomina ac gesta Lemovicensium episcoporum*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, 2:265–71 at cc. 9–10, pp. 268–69; Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronique*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, 2:279–342 at p. 284. Jean Becquet and others have argued that Jordan's election took place in January 1023; Richard Landes and the other editors of Ademar's *Chronicon* place it in January 1024—all depends on the dating of Gerald's death, on which see n. 43 above.

⁴⁵ The excommunication of the diocese of Limoges at the council of Paris in 1024 is recounted in Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.57 (p. 179). Ademar's other accounts of the council of Paris do not mention Jordan, but rather focus on the apostolicity of Saint Martial: see Ademar, *Commemoratio abbatum Lemovicensium basilice S. Marcialis apostoli*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. Henri Duplès-Agier (Paris, 1874), pp. 7–8; and the speech of Abbot Odolric in the acts of the Council of Limoges 1031, written by Ademar (Mansi 19:511–13; PL 142:1356–57). Because there are no records of this council outside Ademar's corpus, it must fall under the same critical eye as some of the other councils recorded only by Ademar (see below, nn. 126–27). See also Becquet, "Les évêques," p. 98; Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 137; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 111; Frederick Behrends, ed. and trans., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 164–65 n. 2.

retain control over the diocese of Limoges, and the fact that the conflict between Gauzlin and Jordan lasted so long and reached such intensity suggests that there must have been a great deal at stake.⁴⁶ Gauzlin and King Robert, who were keen to extend and solidify Capetian royal authority, watched with great suspicion the pretensions of the dukes of Aquitaine to traditionally royal prerogatives such as selecting bishops, although the kings had not been active in Aquitaine in almost a century. Thus the excommunication was a signal sent not only to Jordan but to William as well.

Bishop Fulbert of Chartres acted as an intermediary in settling the dispute over Jordan's election. In the summer of 1024, in a letter to his protégé, Hildegard, the treasurer of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, Fulbert wrote, "we have warned the archbishop [Gauzlin] of Bourges through one of his monks not to put off making peace with Duke William and his bishops before it causes him serious trouble."⁴⁷ About a year later, Fulbert advised William the Great that Gauzlin "would have followed our advice (so he says) as regards the bishop of Limoges, if he had not been restrained by fear of arousing the king's anger," which suggests that royal prerogatives may indeed have been a key issue in the ongoing dispute.⁴⁸ Soon thereafter, Fulbert told Hildegard that he could not visit him in Poitiers, in part because of the difficulty of settling this case.⁴⁹ Finally, in late 1025 or early 1026, Jordan attached his own greeting to one of Hildegard's letters to Fulbert, mentioning his gratitude that Fulbert had helped him "in his struggle with the archbishop of Bourges."⁵⁰ The editor of Fulbert's letters, although he acknowledges the problems of dating the beginning of Jordan's reign, suggests that Jordan did not

⁴⁶ Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," p. 435.

⁴⁷ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, no. 92, pp. 164–65: "Dic karissimo nobis principi G(uilelmo) . . . monuisse quoque Bituricensem archiepiscopum per quendam monachum suum ut sese pacare non negligat cum ipso domno Guillelmo et episcopis eius, priusquam sibi exinde scandalum oriatur."

⁴⁸ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, no. 107, pp. 190–93: "fecissetque Bituricensis episcopus iuxta consilium nostrum (ut ait) de Lemovicensi episcopo, nisi eum regalis irae formido destineret."

⁴⁹ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, no. 108, pp. 192–95. For more on Hildegard, see Robert Favreau, "Les écoles et la culture à Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers des origines au début du XII^e siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 3 (1960), 473–78.

⁵⁰ *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, no. 114, pp. 204–7 (the editor dates this letter to late 1025 or early 1026).

finally reconcile with the archbishop until late in 1025 or early 1026, when he did penance before Gauzlin to end the conflict.⁵¹

Toward the end of his reign, Jordan made an agreement with Duke William VII of Aquitaine concerning future elections of the bishops of Limoges.⁵² Jordan's own tumultuous experience may have made him wary of ducal selection of bishops, as this new arrangement outlined a more prominent role for the canons and other notables of the region in future elections. On the other hand, the agreement hardly excluded the duke from the process:

If the count of Poitou should send a bishop into the episcopate of the see of Limoges, it should in no way be done without election and without the advice of the canons of Saint-Étienne and without the advice of Aimeri of Nieul and one of his sons, if he lives, or if he is dead, with two of his sons; similarly with two sons of Hilduin of Noblat, if they are alive; if they are dead, with the advice of those who hold the towers of Nieul and Noblat with the approval of the bishop. The choice should not be made because of earthly wealth, nor out of friendship, but for the health of the see of Saint-Étienne of Limoges.⁵³

This document assures the role of the canons, alongside that of the duke and local castellans, in the election of the bishop; interestingly, it puts the lie to the notion that these two methods of choosing a bishop—nomination by a layperson and election by canons—were mutually exclusive. The duke's influence remained strong, and his ability to make the appointment was acknowledged, but controls were

⁵¹ The difficulty stems from the problems in dating Gerald's death, as discussed above, n. 43. Moreover, Ademar of Chabannes did not give any clue as to the length of time that elapsed between Jordan's excommunication and his reconciliation with Gauzlin. See *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, pp. 164–65 n. 2, for a discussion of the date—Behrends's interpretation is accepted by Cécile Treffort ("Le comte de Poitiers," p. 435). On Jordan's penance, see Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.57 (p. 179).

⁵² *Saint-Étienne* 181 (pp. 174–76).

⁵³ *Saint-Étienne* 181 (p. 175): "Si comes Pictavensis in episcopatum Lemovice sedis mitteret episcopum, nullo modo esset factum sine electione et sine consilio sancti Stephani canonicorum et sine consilio Aimerici de Niolio, cum uno filio suo, si vivus erit, vel [si] mortuus fuerit, cum duobus suis filiis, similiter cum duobus filiis Alduini de Nobiliaco, si vivi erint; si mortui sunt, consilio illorum qui tenent istas turres de Niolio et de Nobiliaco propter commendatum episcopi. Haec electio non sit facta propter lucrum terrenum, neque propter alicuius amicitiam, sed ad salutem sancti Stephani Lemovicae sedis." Aimeri of Nieul and Hilduin of Noblat were castellans. The castle of Nieul mentioned here lay in the Limousin and must be distinguished from the church of Nieul in the diocese of Angoulême: see Jean Becquet, "Aux origines de Nieul: L'église et le château," *BSAHL* 116 (1989), 67–71, esp. pp. 68–69.

put on his choice and his interests were balanced with those of others. It is notable, however, that the archbishop of Bourges still merits no mention.⁵⁴

Despite any new limits intended for ducal power in the election of bishops in Limoges, after Jordan's death the canons found it necessary to call on the duke again, as they were unable to agree with the lords of Limoges on a candidate. The canons pleaded with William to appoint a good pastor for them, fearing they might end up at the mercy of a simoniacal bishop who would not be a good rector of the church or protector of their property.⁵⁵ In the end, the choice of Jordan's successor, Itier, was made in consultation with clerics and nobles of the Limousin and he was—significantly, given recent history—ordained by Aimo of Bourges and other bishops from that province. The duke, however, remained a guiding force in the selection.⁵⁶ In both Ademar's account and in certain charters, therefore, the influence of the duke in episcopal elections was not considered improper but rather was presented as a salutary measure designed to stave off simony.

The dukes of Aquitaine were deeply involved in the appointment of bishops in their realm from the late tenth century onward, especially in Poitiers and Limoges. This fact was not looked on askance by most sources—in fact, it was lauded by some as a check against abuse—and when it was, the objection did not usually stem from discomfort with lay appointments in general but from conflicts of interest, such as that between William the Great and Gauzlin of Bourges. The dukes undoubtedly saw this practice as a way of extending their influence throughout their large dominion and of rewarding allies such as the Isemberts and the viscomital family of Limoges. The bishops were in turn aware of their obligation to the dukes, although even a bishop appointed in this way did not become merely a creature of the dukes. Thus two main factors entered into the choice of a bishop in this period: his birth and the intervention of lay rulers. How did these interests then affect the actions of bishops during their reigns?

⁵⁴ According to Reinhold Kaiser (*Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 220–21), this agreement also marks the end of the viscomital family's influence in local episcopal elections.

⁵⁵ *Saint-Étienne* 121 (pp. 138–40).

⁵⁶ *Saint-Étienne* 137 (p. 147).

Bishops and Family Policy at Religious Houses

Prominent families in this period often had special relations with certain religious communities and, by extension, with their patron saints.⁵⁷ Such families might exert control over a house and its assets and/or act as its benefactors, with different members giving donations. Episcopal behavior toward religious houses must be understood in the context of these family policies toward a house. In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, for example, the monastery of Saint-Martial in the city of Limoges came under the control of the local viscomital family, which also held sway over the episcopate. For a time, the family's power extended to the abbatial office itself: Abbot Geoffrey I (r. 991–998) was the son of Viscount Gerald and the brother of Viscount Guy, Bishop Hildegard, and Bishop Hilduin of Limoges,⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Classic studies of this relationship in the context of early and high medieval France include: Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1994); Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; Penelope Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme (1032–1187)* (New York, 1981).

⁵⁸ There are two points of confusion about the Abbot Geoffrey who came from the viscomital family: first, whether he was the son of Viscount Gerald and the brother of Viscount Guy, or the son of Guy; second, whether he ruled as Geoffrey I (991–998) or Geoffrey II (1007–1019). Turning first to the question of his parentage: Geoffrey of Vigeois (*Chronique*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, c. 41, 2:300) suggests that Abbot Geoffrey was among the sons of Viscount Gerald, although he acknowledges that some thought that he was the son of Guy. Some sources do not mention Geoffrey in their lists of the sons of Viscount Gerald: for example, the *Historia monasterii Usercensis* (pp. 21–22). On the other hand, I have seen no Geoffrey listed among the sons of Guy in Guy's charters: he lists his sons (in various combinations) as Ademar, Gerald, Peter, and Fulk (see, for example, Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, nos. 21, 23, and 24). Charles de Lasteyrie (*L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges* [Paris, 1901], pp. 65–67), Robert de Lasteyrie (*Étude sur les comtes*, p. 85), and Richard Landes (*Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 51 and 68) all state that Geoffrey was Gerald's son, and I am inclined to agree. Whether Gerald's son Geoffrey was Geoffrey I or Geoffrey II, ruling from 991–998 or 1007–1019, however, remains in doubt. Neither Ademar's nor Bernard Itier's works on the abbots of Saint-Martial (Ademar, *Commemoratio abbatum*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial*, ed. Duplès-Agier, pp. 6–7; Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaître, pp. 10–13), nor the *Annales Lemovicenses* (MGH SS 2:252) clear up the confusion, and the dates of both reigns are plausible for a brother of Hildegard and Hilduin. Scholars are divided on the issue: Charles de Lasteyrie argues that our Geoffrey was Geoffrey I (r. 991–998), while Robert de Lasteyrie asserts that he was Geoffrey II (1007–1019); Richard Landes contradicts himself, saying at one point that Geoffrey ruled from 991–998 (Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 51) and elsewhere that he ruled until 1019 (*Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 68). Provisionally, I accept the opinion that Abbot Geoffrey I (r. 991–998) was the brother of Viscount Guy and of Bishops Hildegard and Hilduin—the position also taken by Reinhold Kaiser (*Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 218–19).

while his successor, Adalbold (r. 998–1007), was appointed by Bishop Hilduin and Viscount Guy.⁵⁹

The authority of the viscomital family at Saint-Martial often, although not always, involved the exploitation of the monastery's treasure, especially at the height of their power at the house around the year 1000.⁶⁰ In 990, Bishop Hildegard took items from the monastery's treasury north to Paris with him, for what reason we do not know. He died during his journey, and left the wealth as a gift to the Parisian monastery of Saint-Denis.⁶¹ In June 1010 Viscount Guy went to Saint-Martial to withdraw the money he needed to ransom his wife, Emma, from the Normans, who had captured her when she was on pilgrimage to the coastal monastery of Saint-Michel en l'Erm.⁶² In turn, Bishop Hilduin took treasure from Saint-Martial on his journey to Rome that same year, leaving the monks "in sadness," presumably over the loss of their belongings rather than the company of the bishop; an impression reinforced by the fact that miracles began to occur at Saint-Martial after Hilduin's departure. Ademar of Chabannes remarked that Hilduin could make this withdrawal because he had bought the monastery from his brother, Viscount Guy. We do not know in what exact capacity Hilduin held Saint-Martial, given that there was an abbot, Geoffrey II, ruling at the time.⁶³ It seems that this was an era when Saint-Martial saw numerous drains on its treasury: a papal privilege from 1005 forbade an annual payment of 100 pounds from the monastery. Although the recipient of

⁵⁹ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 27–28. Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.40 (p. 160) does not mention that it was Hilduin and Guy who appointed Adalbold.

⁶⁰ Viscount Gerald and his wife Rotild made a donation to Saint-Martial, witnessed by their sons, including Bishop Hildegard and his successor, Hilduin: Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, no. 19, pp. 126–27.

⁶¹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 156). On the viscounts of Limoges in this period, see Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, chapter 6, pp. 55–61; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 212 and 215. On their relations with Saint-Martial see Kaiser, pp. 217–21. It is possible that Hildegard simply stole the treasure, and that this incident does not therefore indicate any special control by his family, but when considered with the other occasions at which his brothers Guy, Hilduin, and Geoffrey exercised evident control at the monastery, I think it is more likely that this is not so.

⁶² Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.44 (p. 164). The same Viscount Guy earlier returned money to the monastery at the request of Abbot Odobald: Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaître, p. 11.

⁶³ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.49 (p. 168). The editors of Ademar's chronicle give the date of 1010 for the purchase of the monastery by Hilduin. See also Charles de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial*, pp. 69–70, who gives the date of 1012 for Hilduin's departure for Rome. For more on bishops in control of religious houses, see chapter 4.

this bounty is not named, it reinforces the impression that Saint-Martial was in difficult financial straits in this period.⁶⁴

The reign of Bishop Hilduin's nephew and successor, Gerald, saw challenges to the power of the viscomital family over Saint-Martial. Gerald was unable, for example, to continue the practice of naming the abbot of Saint-Martial. When Abbot Geoffrey II died in 1019, the monks chose a man named Hugh to succeed him. Gerald refused to consecrate Hugh, preferring to keep the position vacant or appoint his own candidate. The standoff between the bishop and the monastery lasted for two years, until civil unrest forced the bishop to assent to Hugh's appointment.⁶⁵ After Gerald's death, the bishopric moved out of the family's hands as well, with the election of Jordan of Laron, who would have his own fraught relationship with Saint-Martial, although those problems did not stem from blood ties.⁶⁶

The viscomital family was also active at the monastery of Uzerche, although their role there was predominantly protective rather than exploitative. The abbey had undergone a short-lived reform driven by a layman, Radulf, during the episcopate of Bishop Ebles (944–976/977), and it had received a donation from Viscount Ademar of Limoges and his wife, Melisende, at Ebles's instigation.⁶⁷ Bishop Hildegard, Ebles's successor, who was the son of Viscount Ademar's successor, Gerald, issued an extensive privilege for the monastery in 977, the first year of his episcopate, at the request of another reform-minded layman named Arbert. This privilege freed the monastery from lay or episcopal control and placed it under the Benedictine Rule.⁶⁸ This document was the first

⁶⁴ Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaître, p. 11. This privilege is described in Becquet, "Le bullaire du Limousin," *BSAHL* 100 (1973), 111–49 at no. 6, p. 116, although he mistakenly names the chronicler who mentions it as Ademar of Chabannes. It is not found in Jaffé or Zimmermann.

⁶⁵ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.50 (p. 170). It would be inaccurate to say that Gerald was uninvolved at Saint-Martial, however: the chronicler Geoffrey of Vigeois recounted that Gerald supervised gifts from various lords to the monastery, for example (*Chronique*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, c. 7, 2:282).

⁶⁶ See above, chapter 2, pp. 55–56.

⁶⁷ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 16–17. *Uzerche* 120 (p. 150) is a gift by Radulf, the lay reformer, and his wife, signed by Ebles, which refers to their trip to Rome to receive the pope's permission for their work at Uzerche. Ademar and Melisende's gift is mentioned in Hildegard's privilege—see next note.

⁶⁸ For the story of Arbert's reform, see *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 17–19. Hildegard's privilege (mentioned at the start of this chapter) is found at: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37) and *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65). It is mentioned or expanded upon in *Uzerche* 40 (pp. 73–75) and 1039 (p. 415).

in a series of gifts made to Uzerche by the viscomital family around the year 1000.⁶⁹ The donors and witnesses came from three generations of the family. Rotild, the wife of Viscount Gerald and mother of Viscount Guy, Bishop Hildegard, and Bishop Hilduin, gave a donation for the soul of Gerald and of her previous husband, which was witnessed by her sons.⁷⁰ The dowager viscountess, Melisende, who had earlier given a gift with her husband, Viscount Ademar, and whose daughter, Emma, married Viscount Guy, also gave a villa.⁷¹ Guy and Emma gave five donations to the monastery, the first two around the year 1000, the third between 1014 and 1022, the fourth in 1019 and the last in 1025.⁷² One of their gifts was made with the encouragement of Guy's brothers, Hildegard and Hilduin, while the other four were witnessed by Guy and Emma's sons, including Gerald, who would become bishop in 1014. Bishop Hilduin also made his own gift to the monastery, in which he gave up certain episcopal rights over the house.⁷³ The generosity of Bishops Hildegard and Hilduin toward Uzerche, which encompassed both private gifts and grants of independence from their official episcopal authority, was therefore part of their family's broader policy toward the house, which saw different members making gifts, often at gatherings involving other relatives and often with the expressed encouragement of certain family members.⁷⁴

The case of Uzerche shows bishops joining with their families in a wave of generosity to a single community. Bishops also worked with their powerful relatives to reform and administer religious houses.

⁶⁹ The family members also witnessed gifts by others to Uzerche. See, for example, *Uzerche* 172 (p. 162); 322 (p. 199); 353 (p. 207); 453 (pp. 254–55); 458 (p. 257); 459 (p. 257); 779 (p. 332); 900 (p. 359); 1047 (p. 424).

⁷⁰ *Uzerche* 134 (pp. 154–55); dated 987/8. Also in Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, no. 18 (p. 125). Rotild's sons Guy, Hildegard, Gerald, and Hilduin are named as witnesses.

⁷¹ *Uzerche* 174 (pp. 162–63), dated April 1001.

⁷² *Uzerche* 462 (pp. 258–62) and Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, no. 23 (pp. 133–37), from 997–1003; Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, no. 21 (pp. 130–31), from 997–1003; *Uzerche* 354 (p. 208), from 1014–1022; *Uzerche* 61 (pp. 110–11) and Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pièces justificatives, no. 24 (pp. 138–39), from 1019 (this exchange also mentioned in *Uzerche* 63 [p. 112]); *Uzerche* 47 (pp. 79–82), from 1025.

⁷³ *Uzerche* 444 (pp. 251–52).

⁷⁴ Hildegard's privilege, for example, acknowledges the urgings of his family and others: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–35). Stephen D. White has studied examples in which the wishes of relatives are included more formally in charters from the period from 1050 to 1150: *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988).

The best example of this is the cooperation of Ebles of Limoges with his brother and nephew, William Tow-Head and William Iron-Arm of Aquitaine, at communities in Poitou. William Tow-Head witnessed Ebles's restoration charter for Saint-Maixent, and it is possible that it was with the duke's help that Ebles was able to reassemble the lands that he returned to the monastery.⁷⁵ At Saint-Michel en l'Erm, William not only supported Ebles's actions, but also may have gone a step further and acquired land with which to endow the newly-restored monastery.⁷⁶

The two brothers were also involved in resolving a dispute at Saint-Maixent in the summer of 959: William mediated between Ebles, who was abbot of Saint-Maixent, and one of William's own faithful men, Bego, regarding a quarrel over a piece of woodland. In his charter, William describes "how our brother Ebles...confronted a certain faithful man of ours named Bego in our presence, concerning a certain small wood, which Bego was known to hold from us."⁷⁷ Bego's small holding was completely surrounded by the land of Saint-Maixent, and the monastery's men had been threatening him, probably with the goal of restoring this estate to their holdings. Provoked, Bego and his men occupied the land surrounding his own estate. William brokered a solution in which Bego gave up the wood and an adjacent abandoned church in exchange for a lump sum and subsequent yearly payments. This is a wonderful example of the layers of interest that attended such disputes. On the one hand, William had given the land in question to Bego, and he had a responsibility to his *fidelis*. On the other, William was aware that to expand the holdings of Saint-Maixent, which his brother controlled, would be beneficial both for the monks and for his own family, as a monastery they patronized became richer. Ebles also probably acted with several considerations in mind, including the expansion of both his family influence and of the estates of the monastery under his protection. Of course, Bego received compensation for giving up his

⁷⁵ *Saint-Maixent* 23 (pp. 35–37).

⁷⁶ We know that Ebles restored Saint-Michel from Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47). The document found at *Gallia Christiana* 2:Instrumenta 408–10 purports to describe Ebles's restoration in more detail, including William Tow-Head's role, but it is of questionable authenticity: see Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:99, n. 2. It is possible that despite the fact that it was a forgery, this charter reports the bare facts of the incident—that Ebles reformed Saint-Michel with William's help—correctly, but this cannot be confirmed.

⁷⁷ *Saint-Maixent* 20 (pp. 32–33): "qualiter frater noster Ebolus...interpellabat quendam fidelem nostrum Begonem nomine in presentiam nostram de quadam silvula, quam prefatus Bego habere videbatur de nostro beneficio."

claim, but it certainly seems that Saint-Maixent profited from closing this gap in their estates, and from receiving another church, however dilapidated. Saint-Maixent also benefited from the fact that their advocate in this conflict with the duke's man was the duke's brother.⁷⁸

The brothers appeared together most frequently at Saint-Hilaire, where William was abbot and Ebles was treasurer. Ebles was mentioned in five of the six charters of Saint-Hilaire in which William Tow-Head appeared; the bishop/treasurer also figured in three charters without his brother.⁷⁹ While the number of charters is scant to support general conclusions about the government of Saint-Hilaire, it seems fair to say that when William made major decisions about Saint-Hilaire, such as granting its land out in lease, Ebles was likely to be involved.⁸⁰

It has been argued that after William Tow-Head's death in 963, Ebles exercised strong influence over his nephew, William Iron-Arm, even to the point of directing military campaigns and governing Aquitaine for the young duke.⁸¹ This assertion is based primarily on seven charters from Saint-Hilaire in which Ebles and his nephew appeared together.⁸² These documents, however, do not show Ebles governing Aquitaine for William, but rather continuing the cooperative role he had performed in the administration of Saint-Hilaire during William Tow-Head's reign. In four of the documents, Ebles was called upon to witness the

⁷⁸ *Saint-Maixent* 20 (pp. 32–33). For more on Ebles's role in this case, see chapter 4 below.

⁷⁹ Ebles and William Tow-Head appeared together in *Saint-Hilaire* 18 (pp. 22–23) from 941/2; 19 (pp. 23–24) from 942; 23 (pp. 27–28) from 954–955; 25 (pp. 29–30) from 957; and 26 (pp. 30–32) from ca. 957. William Tow-Head appeared without Ebles in *Saint-Hilaire* 20 (pp. 24–25) from 942. Ebles appeared without William Tow-Head (during the latter's lifetime) in *Saint-Hilaire* 22 (pp. 26–27) from 944–54; 27 (p. 32) from 959; and 28 (p. 33) from 960.

⁸⁰ See *Saint-Hilaire* 18 (pp. 22–23), 23 (pp. 27–28), 25 (pp. 29–30), and 26 (pp. 30–32).

⁸¹ Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:102–5, 107, 113. Cécile Treffort comments that Ebles's influence on William must have continued after Ebles's death, given the number of grants that William made to Saint-Hilaire, beginning around 989: "Le comte de Poitiers," p. 424.

⁸² *Saint-Hilaire* 32 (pp. 36–38), 36 (pp. 40–41), 38 (pp. 42–43), 39 (pp. 44–45), 40 (pp. 45–46), 41 (pp. 46–48), 42 (pp. 48–49). These charters were issued in a period from 965 to ca. 975. Richard also states (*Histoire des comtes*, 1:105, n. 1) that Ebles influenced William to give to Saint-Martial de Limoges—he cites the chronicle of Bernard Itier (*Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaître, p. 11), which records that in the year 1000, "Willelmus, dux Aquitanie, qui construxit monasteria Borguol e Malazes, et dedit sancto Marciali Anes, quod pater suus etiam dederat, tunc florebat." This entry makes no mention of Ebles whatsoever and William Iron-Arm was dead by the year 1000. Either the date must be wrong or the William in question is William the Great.

act in question and to reinforce its provisions with his signature. William Iron-Arm, in a formula also favored by his father, signed these charters with his faithful men, and then in each case “decreed that it be strengthened by lord Bishop Ebles, treasurer of the above-mentioned monastery, with all the brothers serving God there.”⁸³ In later grants by William other treasurers appear in place of Ebles, making it difficult to argue that this phrase grants any special power to Ebles himself.⁸⁴ Rather, William Iron-Arm’s charters followed a formula of asking the treasurer of Saint-Hilaire to join with the canons in confirming the count/abbot’s donations. Ebles also twice recommended that William Iron-Arm give estates of Saint-Hilaire in tenure to certain individuals, but again this action was not unique to him, as other officials at Saint-Hilaire made similar suggestions.⁸⁵ Thus while Ebles had a role in advising William—as a bishop, as his uncle, and as his second-in-command at Saint-Hilaire—the surviving evidence focuses on their government of a single religious house and does not show extraordinary episcopal involvement in the government of Aquitaine. What it does show is that ties to lay relations could draw a bishop to act at a particular house, either in his official capacity as bishop, as a member of his family, or, most often, in both roles.

These examples of the influence of powerful families over a see and over the manner in which a particular bishop performed his duties raise the specter of the “proprietary church” or *Eigenkirche*, a concept introduced by Ulrich Stutz in the late nineteenth century that remains influential—albeit controversial—in scholarship on the church in this period.⁸⁶ Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, in her study of Narbonne, argued that the proprietary church is a flawed model for the Midi, in particular with regard to bishoprics. She asserted that we must distinguish between two meanings of the term *episcopatus* as it appears in the sources: on the one hand, it signifies the material holdings of the episcopate, some of

⁸³ This same text (with very minor variations) appears in *Saint-Hilaire* 32 (pp. 36–38), 40 (pp. 45–46), 41 (pp. 46–48), and 42 (pp. 48–49).

⁸⁴ For example, see *Saint-Hilaire* 46 (pp. 53–54), 48 (pp. 56–57), 51 (pp. 60–61).

⁸⁵ *Saint-Hilaire* 36 (pp. 40–41) and 38 (pp. 42–43). For examples of other officials recommending donations to William, see *Saint-Hilaire* 40 (pp. 45–46), 41 (pp. 46–48), 42 (pp. 48–49), 46 (pp. 53–54). On the other hand, it is significant that William made a gift of his own land to Saint-Hilaire in this period, using the same charter form as his uncle did in a gift to Saint-Maixent: *Saint-Hilaire* 39 (pp. 44–45).

⁸⁶ Ulrich Stutz, *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechts* (Berlin, 1895; reprinted Darmstadt, 1955).

which might be disposed of by a comital or ducal family, while on the other hand, it refers to the office itself, which laymen did not control. This argument is part of her broader refutation of the notion that the church became “a prisoner of the laity” in this period, despite certain famous cases of abuse.⁸⁷ More recently, Susan Wood has argued that while contemporaries understood that there were different facets of the episcopate, there was no clear separation of the episcopal office and its holdings. She also contends that while some lay rulers may have thought they were exercising public power in a quasi-royal fashion when they disposed of bishoprics, nonetheless a “common sense reading” demands that families regarded bishoprics as their property.⁸⁸

Both arguments have merit. Magnou-Nortier’s distinction between control of the office and the ability to supervise elections or assets is an important reminder that the episcopate was more than just property in the financial sense. Her rejection of the characterization of the church in this period as merely the tool of the laity is also absolutely sound. Wood, however, makes a compelling point that laymen did not limit their engagement with churches for fear of seeming abusive: “It is one thing to say that the aristocratic families of Languedoc took seriously their responsibilities for the Church...quite another to say that they did not to an exceptional degree deal with bishoprics as their own.”⁸⁹ The Aquitanian sources, while supporting Magnou-Nortier’s argument concerning the multi-faceted nature of the episcopate, also suggest that contemporaries would not have drawn clear distinctions between control of its different facets—when we see the dukes of Aquitaine directing the investiture of bishops, for example, it seems that both property and office were at stake.⁹⁰ I would caution, however, against the idea that laypeople or clerics thought in a systematic way about public versus private rights over the episcopate. As I argued in my discussion of cathedral property in the previous chapter, these sorts of distinctions are less than clear in tenth-century sources. I suggest that just as bishops did not see the need to separate their obligations

⁸⁷ Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 349–56.

⁸⁸ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 304–9.

⁸⁹ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 309.

⁹⁰ The term *episcopatus* is only occasionally used in Aquitanian charters, and there does not seem to be an equivalent term employed, so the kind of systematic analysis of vocabulary that Magnou-Nortier performs, leading to her argument about two meanings of *episcopatus*, is not really possible for Aquitaine.

to family and office, so powerful laymen may not have systematically distinguished between their own public and private authority over the episcopate in their efforts to gain influence over this key position.

*War, Politics, and the Peace of God: The Development of an
Aquitanian Episcopate*

Bishop Ebles of Limoges's influence over his nephew, Duke William Iron-Arm, is of interest both as an example of how families could shape a bishop's behavior while in office and because it raises the issue of episcopal involvement in lay politics in this period. Aquitanian bishops were not official secular rulers—there are no count-bishops in Aquitaine, in contrast to some northern French and German dioceses.⁹¹ We find almost no instances of bishops challenging lay rulers for authority in their region, although certain actions, such as the association of Peter of Poitiers with Count Geoffrey of Anjou at Sainte-Croix, might have been a more subtle form of dissent. The exception to this rule is the case of Bishop Hugh of Angoulême (973/974–990), who became involved in a struggle for succession to that county, opposing the power of Arnald Manzer, illegitimate son of Count William II Taillefer.⁹² The *Historia pontificum* recounts that Hugh,

wishing to acquire the county of Angoulême for the church of Angoulême, held great wars with Arnald, count of Angoulême. For which reason, taking away the goods of the church of Angoulême, he gave out the greatest estates in the dioceses of Limoges, Périgueux, Angoulême, and Saintes to the barons who helped him in this sedition.⁹³

⁹¹ An exception to this general rule, although it took place outside of Aquitaine, is Gumbald, archbishop of Bordeaux, who in two charters also took the title of duke of Gascony. Renée Mussot-Goulard has argued convincingly, however, that Gumbald used this title as regent for his brother, William-Sancho of Gascony: *Les Princes de Gascogne*, pp. 129–30. For examples of northern French count/bishops, see Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes*. For examples from Germany, see Hartmut Hoffmann, "Grafschaften in Bischofshand," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 46 (1990), 375–480.

⁹² Debord, *La société laïque*, pp. 75–77, 94, 99–115; Depoin, "Les comtes héréditaires," pp. 18–20.

⁹³ *Historia pontificum*, c. 22, p. 14: "comitatum Engolismensem ecclesiae Engolismensi acquirere volens, maximas guerras cum Arnaldo Engolismensi comite habuit. Qua de causa, bona Engolismensis ecclesiae detrahens, maxima casamenta in Lemovicensi, Petragoricensi, Engolismensi, Xantonensi episcopatibus, baronibus qui in praedicta seditione ei auxilium praebebant, impendit."

The text does not indicate why Hugh decided to defy Arnald Manzer, but certain historians have speculated that the rebellion had its origins in Hugh's distaste for Arnald's illegitimacy. Joseph Depoin cites Ademar's account of the resistance to Gauzlin of Bourges because of his illegitimacy as another example of contemporary objections to this stain on officeholders.⁹⁴ The count of Angoulême is not an ecclesiastic, however, and in any case Ademar's accusations concerning Gauzlin's illegitimacy and the contemporary response to it may have been false or exaggerated.⁹⁵ It seems more likely that Hugh, a member of a castellan family, saw Arnald's illegitimacy and problems in claiming his inheritance as an opportunity to expand his own power. Hugh's actions probably sprang as much from a desire for power as from fastidiousness about legitimacy; certainly the *Historia pontificum*, which labels Hugh's campaign as "sedition", does not present it as a worthy fight for the purity of officeholders. Nor, tellingly, do we find imitators of Hugh's ill-fated attempt. What we do find are bishops regularly involved in political disputes, in which they would, in many cases, use violence. Further, around the year 1000, bishops were increasingly drawn into the sphere of the dukes of Aquitaine.

Aquitainian bishops were involved in violent quarrels to pursue ends both secular and ecclesiastic. For example, Ebles of Limoges and his foster-son and chosen successor, Benedict, who served as chorbishop of Limoges, may have paid a heavy price for their involvement in a feud between the houses of Limoges and Périgord. Benedict was captured by Count Elias of Périgord, blinded, and later succumbed to his wounds; Ebles, broken by grief, died soon thereafter.⁹⁶ It has been suggested that Elias's fury against Ebles and Benedict was due to his belief that they had turned William Iron-Arm against his cause.⁹⁷

Hilduin of Limoges, meanwhile, pursued a feud with the castellan Jordan of Chabannes. With the support of Duke William the Great,

⁹⁴ Depoin, "Les comtes héréditaires," p. 20; his opinion is echoed by the editor of the *Historia pontificum*, p. 14 n. 1.

⁹⁵ See above, n. 42.

⁹⁶ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147).

⁹⁷ R. H. Bautier, "Les origines du comté de la Marche," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Henri Hemmer par ses collègues et ses amis* (Guéret, 1979), pp. 10–19 at p. 15; Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:109–10. Thomas Head has pointed out, however, that this is only a guess and that there is no direct link posited in the sources between Ebles's and Benedict's activities and the attack: Head, "The Development of the Peace," p. 663 n. 33.

Hilduin built a castle near the collegiate house of Saint-Junien as a defense against Jordan, who prepared an army to fight the bishop for control of the castle. In response, Hilduin and his brother, Viscount Guy of Limoges, assembled an army and attacked Jordan. After a difficult battle, the bishop was defeated, but the victorious Jordan was murdered soon thereafter by one of the men he had taken prisoner. In response, Jordan's brother later seized another of Hilduin's brothers, Aimeri of Rochechouart, and held him prisoner until the offending castle was demolished.⁹⁸ Hilduin's involvement in this conflict reflects the many interests to which he was answerable. Duke William was relying on his allies, the viscomital family of Limoges and its bishops, to keep a castellan lord in check. Hilduin also had an interest in limiting the power of Jordan over Saint-Junien—perhaps this stemmed, in part, from a simple desire to defend a house in his diocese. Finally, Guy and Hilduin were defending of the prestige and power of their family against the challenge of this powerful castellan.

Other instances of bishops using force include the aid given by Hilduin's nephew and successor, Gerald, to Hugh of Lusignan in building a castle to stave off Hugh's enemies.⁹⁹ Arnald of Périgueux, according to

⁹⁸ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.42 (p. 163). There have been different interpretations of Hilduin's feud with Jordan of Chabannes: Reinhold Kaiser (*Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 219) and Michel Aubrun (*L'ancien diocèse*, p. 151) see it as an action taken by the bishop and duke to enforce peace against the troublemaking Jordan, who was threatening Saint-Junien. Dominique Barthélemy (*L'an mil*, pp. 301–2), meanwhile, sees it as the bishop and duke transgressing their own calls for peace without acceptable motivation. It must also be pointed out that Ademar's account may be biased, given that Jordan may have been his relative: on Ademar's family, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 77–80.

⁹⁹ Jane Martindale, "Notes and Documents: *Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comes et Hugonem Chiliarchum*," *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), 528–48; critical edition pp. 541–48, here at p. 545. For more on this document, see the recent edition by George Beech, Yves Chauvin, and Georges Pon, *Le Conventum (vers 1030): Un précurseur aquitain des premières épopées* (Geneva, 1995). See also Barthélemy, *L'an mil*, pp. 339–54; idem, "Autour d'un récit de pactes (*Conventum Hugonis*): La seigneurie châtelaine et le féodalisme, en France au XI^e siècle," in *Il feudalismo nell'alto Medioevo, 8–12 aprile 1999*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 47 (Spoleto, 2000), pp. 447–95; George T. Beech, "The Lord/Dependant (Vassal) Relationship: A Case Study from Aquitaine c. 1030," *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), 1–30; Marcel Garaud, *Les châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal, XI^e et XII^e siècles*, MSAO 4th series, 8 (Poitiers, 1964), pp. 33–34; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 125–26; Stephen D. White, "Politics of Fidelity: Hugh of Lusignan and William of Aquitaine," in *Georges Duby: L'écriture de l'histoire*, ed. Claudie Duhamel-Amado and Guy Lobrichon (Brussels, 1996), pp. 223–30; idem, "Stratégie rhétorique dans la *Conventio* de Hugues de Lusignan," in *Histoire et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, 4 volumes (Aix-en-

one source, helped the duke of Aquitaine to repel a Norman incursion.¹⁰⁰ Gerald of Périgueux, meanwhile, fought a war with Aldebert II, count of Périgord, to prevent the count from invalidating his father's coinage.¹⁰¹ The political machinations of bishops often involved religious houses, which could be used as power bases or their numerous assets exploited for gain.¹⁰² Bishops could also mobilize their forces, however, to defend such communities. The general attitude toward episcopal use of military power in Aquitaine was neutral: while it was quite possible for a bishop to be condemned for fighting on the wrong side of a given conflict, or for using force in an unacceptable way, such force was not condemned in itself and indeed, if used correctly, could be praised. It is also worth noting that bishops did not only fight against powerful men of their realms, but also made agreements with them, both in the councils of the Peace of God and individually. An example of such an independent agreement is found in an unpublished document of Bishop Hugh of Angoulême, which was recorded on the final page of a manuscript from the cathedral library.¹⁰³ In this text, unnamed fighting men made a pact

Provence, 1992), 2:147–57. On the family of Lusignan, see Sidney Painter, “The Lords of Lusignan in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Speculum* 32 (1957), 27–47.

¹⁰⁰ The *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis* (p. 738) states that Arnald participated in Duke William's (probably William the Great's) war with the Normans, but that he could not pay his own soldiers, and thus sold the archpriesthood of Exideuil to Bishop Antonio of Limoges, for cash. This account is suspect, however: first, Arnald's presence is not mentioned in Ademar's account of the campaign: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.53 (p. 172). Second, who was Antonius of Limoges? Jean Besly (*Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, p. 323) argued that it must have been Bishop Hilduin, but there is no confirmation of this elsewhere. Reinhold Kaiser (*Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 228) is also skeptical about this incident.

¹⁰¹ *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, p. 738; Thomas N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon* (c. AD 1000–c. 1225) (Oxford, 1979), p. 48. Muriel Laharie argues that Aldebert was debasing rather than invalidating his father's coinage and sees Gerald's actions as an example of a bishop exerting a measure of public authority—he did not challenge the count's right to coin money, but sought to correct the misuse of that right (Laharie, “*Évêques et société*,” pp. 351–52).

¹⁰² Some examples have already been discussed: Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers's possession of the house of Saint-Hilaire, possibly as a measure to help keep Ebles Manzer from gaining control of the city; Hugh of Angoulême's exploitation of cathedral funds to fight a war against Count Arnald Manzer; Hilduin of Limoges's purchase of the monastery of Saint-Martial. In another example, Bishop Turpio of Limoges seized the lands of Uzerche because he saw the growing power of the monastery as a threat to the prestige of his see (*Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 14–20).

¹⁰³ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis Latinus 1127, f. 165v. Although Hugh was present at the council of Charroux in 989, the year before he died, there is no indication that this agreement was made in the context of a council. Chances

with Hugh to provide a specified number and type of prayers for each other's souls in the event of their deaths. In understanding episcopal participation in the activities of the lay nobility, therefore, a focus on bishops' feuds should not preclude an understanding of their alliances and attempts to reestablish order.

The most striking case of episcopal involvement with lay power in Aquitaine in this period is the evolution of their relations with the dukes of the region. That association often began with election but it continued throughout their reigns. Let us begin with the bishops of Poitiers, whose relationship of the dukes was at best variable in the early and mid-tenth century. The turning point was the year 975, which saw the beginning of the long reign of Bishop Gilbert, who would be much more closely associated with the dukes than his predecessors had been. Soon after Gilbert's accession, Ebles, bishop of Limoges, who had been a close advisor to his nephew, died, possibly opening the way for closer relations between the dukes and the bishops of their capital city. For close they became, in the most literal sense: in the numerous charters witnessed by Gilbert and his nephew and successor, Isembert I, they appeared with the duke in the vast majority.¹⁰⁴ Although witnessing the same charter does not make two men allies—or even serve as proof that they were in the same place at the same time—what is striking here is that we do not have isolated incidents of the bishops appearing with the dukes, but a fundamental pattern shift in the documents. Before 975, the bishops of Poitiers rarely appeared in the same charters as the dukes; thereafter, there are dozens of cases. This suggests that in the late tenth century the bishops of Poitiers began to travel more frequently in the ducal entourage and were often present at key transactions. Members of Gilbert's and Isembert's family, who were also allies of the duke, are also found frequently in ducal charters.

This paradigm shift in the relations between the bishops of Poitiers and the dukes has been noted by scholars and has led to the charac-

are, therefore, the agreement was made before the beginning of the Peace movement in Aquitaine.

¹⁰⁴ Of the seventy-four charters in which Gilbert appeared as bishop, he acted as a witness in sixty-four of them; in the remaining ten, he took a more substantial role by confirming donations, threatening evildoers with excommunication, asking for donations to be given, giving advice on foundations, and so on. In the sixty-four charters witnessed by Gilbert, he appeared with the duke or duke's family in fifty. Isembert I appeared in forty-nine charters as bishop. In twenty of those charters, he appeared only as a witness; in eighteen of these he signed the charter with a duke.

terization of these bishops (and their Aquitanian colleagues) as “ducal bishops.” While it is not the case that the bishops of Poitiers became mere instruments of the ducal will, it is true that the dukes influenced the bishops’ actions in office.¹⁰⁵ An illustrative example of the nature of this influence comes in episcopal relations with religious houses in their diocese. Certain communities, particularly Saint-Hilaire, Saint-Maixent, and Maillezais, were dominated by the ducal family, and the bishops were rarely involved there without the dukes present. These houses had either been founded (in the case of Maillezais) or reformed by the ducal family, and the dukes continued to exercise strong influence at these communities; when the bishops appeared here, it was to lend their authority to ducal actions. By contrast, at other houses, including Nouaillé but particularly Saint-Cyprien, the bishops acted with much more independence from the dukes.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, as I will argue in the next chapter, the bishops of Poitiers had such an important and long-standing relationship with Saint-Cyprien that it seems appropriate to call it an episcopal monastery. Ducal influence over the relations of the bishops of Poitiers with religious houses in their diocese thus varied from community to community: at certain houses bishops appeared only to confirm the policies of the ducal family, while at others they had a stronger influence and more autonomy.

The dukes had a more striking effect on Aquitanian bishops after 975 in another arena: through the bishops’ association with ducal power, their spheres of influence expanded outside their own dioceses, both within Aquitaine itself and into neighboring regions. For example, beginning with the reign of Gilbert, the bishops of Poitiers began to appear more frequently in the Touraine and Anjou, to the north of Aquitaine. This is initially surprising, as the relations between the counts of Anjou and the dukes of Aquitaine were often hostile until the death of Duke Odo in 1039. Key marriage alliances, however, served to draw the bishops northward in this period. First, William Iron-Arm married

¹⁰⁵ I have made this argument in more detail in “Lay Magnates, Religious Houses,” in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, pp. 21–39.

¹⁰⁶ Earlier bishops of Poitiers began the relationship with Nouaillé: Frotier II judged a case there (*Nouaillé* 34 [pp. 61–62]) and later settled a dispute between himself and the abbot over his demands of hospitality (*Nouaillé* 46 [pp. 81–82]). Frotier’s successor, Albain, was abbot of the house for a time (*Nouaillé* 56 [pp. 96–98]). Bishops Gilbert and Isembert signed charters at Nouaillé, but while many were signed in the company of the ducal family, others were not—a phenomenon not seen at Saint-Hilaire or Saint-Maixent. For the bishops and Saint-Cyprien, see chapter 4.

Emma, a native of Anjou, who founded the monastery of Bourgueil on her own lands in 990. Bishop Gilbert witnessed seven charters at that house with Emma present.¹⁰⁷ After 1039, another marriage led to closer relations between the two regions. In that year, William the Great's second son, Duke Odo, died and was replaced by his half-brother, Peter, who would reign as William VII. Peter's mother (and William the Great's third wife), Agnes, had married Geoffrey of Anjou, and thus ties between the two realms became closer based on this family connection.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly, Isembert I of Poitiers began to appear more often in Anjou and the Touraine, most notably at the consecration of the new monastery of La Trinité de Vendôme, founded by Agnes and her husband in 1040.¹⁰⁹ Isembert had previously actively supported Peter's half-brothers in struggles against Anjou; with the change in the ducal family's fortune, however, relations between the two regions warmed and Isembert changed accordingly.¹¹⁰

The bishops of Poitiers thus saw marked change in their relations with the dukes of Aquitaine beginning in the late tenth century. While it would be inaccurate to dismiss them as "ducal bishops", with the implication that they acted only at the behest of the secular rulers, it

¹⁰⁷ On the foundation of Bourgueil, see Pon and Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La fondation de l'abbaye*, pp. 112–15. Emma's foundation charter survives in the Bourgueil documents at the Archives Départementales d'Indre et Loire H 24, no. 1; and the cartulary version is published: Michel Dupont, *Monographie du cartulaire de Bourgueil des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine 56 (Tours, 1962), pp. 161–63. Two of the seven charters in which Gilbert appears survive in the original; all are found in an eighteenth-century copy of the cartulary of Bourgueil at the Archives Départementales d'Indre et Loire, H990: pp. 19–21 (also survives in the original, H24, no. 50); pp. 34–35 (Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poictou*, pp. 280–81); p. 41; p. 42 (Besly, pp. 290–91); pp. 44–45 (also survives in the original, H24, no. 3; Besly, pp. 267–68); pp. 45–46; pp. 56–57 (Besly, pp. 355–56). Just before she founded Bourgueil, Emma had collaborated with Gilbert at the consecration of Maillezais, another house she founded: Pon and Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La fondation de l'abbaye*, pp. 108–11.

¹⁰⁸ Isabel Soulard Berger, "Agnès de Bourgogne, duchesse d'Aquitaine puis comtesse d'Anjou: Oeuvre politique et action religieuse (1019–v. 1068)," *BSAO* 5th series, 6 (1992), 45–56. Peter (William VII) ruled from 1039–1058. The amity between Aquitaine and Anjou continued until after the end of Isembert I's reign: in 1050, Agnes was repudiated by her husband, ending this cooperation.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Métais, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, 5 volumes (Paris, 1893–1904), nos. 39 and 40, 1:85–93; see also Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power*.

¹¹⁰ Isembert helped to ransom Duke William VI the Fat when he was held prisoner by Geoffrey of Anjou, and the bishop aided William's wife in her regency: *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 114–17; *Saint-Maixent* 93 (pp. 113–14).

is true that Gilbert and Isembert traveled extensively with the dukes, acted on their behalf, and extended their geographical range of activity based on the political fortunes of the ducal family. This development in Poitiers reflects broader trends across Aquitaine in the years around 1000. First, it appears that bishops in Angoulême, Limoges, and elsewhere began to work more closely with their local lay lords at the end of the tenth century. The bishops of Angoulême, after acting independently from the counts of Angoulême from the late ninth to late tenth centuries—and even going so far as to challenge them for control of the region, in the case of Bishop Hugh—began to cooperate extensively with the counts after the advent of William IV Taillefer in 988.¹¹¹ In Limoges, the viscounts began placing members of their own family in the bishopric (with the support of the dukes) in 977.

Second, bishops of these dioceses began to act more frequently on the broader Aquitanian stage, in the company of the dukes and other bishops of the region. The bishops came together to consecrate the dukes' successive choices for the bishopric of Limoges.¹¹² Like the bishops of Poitiers, they began to appear more frequently in charter witness-lists alongside the duke. In some cases, the transactions in question concerned land or houses in a given bishop's diocese, thus perhaps necessitating his presence. In other instances, however, it is not obvious why the bishop's signature would be required on a certain act, thus suggesting that the bishops were simply more available as witnesses because they traveled more frequently in the duke's company, aiding him in his business.¹¹³ The bishops and dukes are also often found in

¹¹¹ It was the reign of Bishop Hugh of Angoulême (973/4–990) that saw this change; previous bishops seem to have remained independent of the counts, and Hugh himself had fought against William IV's father, Arnald Manzer (see above, pp. 86–87). Whatever Hugh's objections to Arnald Manzer, however, they do not seem to have extended to William. For example, the new count worked with Hugh and later with Bishop Roho to continue Arnald's work of restoring the monastery of Saint-Amant de Boixe: *Saint-Amant* 2–4 (pp. 92–96). Muriel Laharie's work on Périgueux indicates that the bishops there had significant interactions with local lay lords from the late tenth century onwards, although they were not always amicable (Laharie, "Évêques et société," pp. 351–55).

¹¹² See above, pp. 72–77.

¹¹³ In some instances, bishops approved gifts to houses outside their dioceses because the land or assets given lay inside their diocese, as was the case when Arnald of Périgueux witnessed the granting of the house of Tourtoirac, in the Périgord, to the Limousin house of Uzerche: *Uzerche* 47 (pp. 79–82). In other cases the reason for a bishop's appearance outside his diocese is less clear, as when Islo of Saintes approved two gifts by William the Great to the monastery of Bourgueil, one of which specifi-

the same witness-lists, again suggesting that they moved in each other's company in this period.¹¹⁴ This impression gained from the charters is reinforced by two letters of Isembert I found in the correspondence of Fulbert of Chartres, in which Isembert refers to important tasks that he and his fellow bishops must perform for the duke, including participating in the negotiations by William the Great to acquire the kingdom of Italy for his son.¹¹⁵

After 975, the bishops of Aquitaine also began to gather together without the dukes present. They witnessed dedications of churches, donations, and other important events. For example, in 1029 the count of Angoulême, Geoffrey Taillefer, founded the house of Saint-Paul de Bouteville in the Saintonge. He was aided in this endeavor by a group of bishops:

This agreement was pleasing to my friends and faithful men, and with the counsel of lord Abbot Iterius, I demanded the assent and aid of my neighboring bishops, that is of lord Godfrey, archbishop of the holy mother church of Bordeaux, of lord Islo, bishop of Saintes, of lord Arnald, bishop of Périgueux, and of lord Roho, bishop of Angoulême; with them brought together in one place, before they turned the foot to the grace of consecration, they said that in no way could the church be blessed in a catholic manner, unless under the condition of a gift. It was suitable to me that I complied with their orders...¹¹⁶

cally concerned land in Poitou, not the Saintonge: in the cartulary, Archives d'Indre et Loire H990, pp. 35–36 and 55–56; the latter is printed in Besly, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, pp. 353–55. Another such case is found in a charter in which Arnald of Périgueux approved a gift by William the Great of land in the Aunis (Saintonge) to Saint-Jean d'Angély, a house in the diocese of Saintes: *Saint-Jean* 9 (1:29–30).

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *Saint-Jean* 181 (1:215–17) from 1038, when Islo of Saintes, Isembert of Poitiers, and Godfrey II of Bordeaux witnessed Duke William VII's confirmation of a gift. See also *Saint-Hilaire* 76 (pp. 84–85) from 1019–1028; *Saint-Jean* 42 (1:66–68) and 339 (2:1–4) both from March 1037 and both with the same four bishops attending; and *Saint-Jean* 197 (1:237–38) from 1031. Godfrey II of Bordeaux, Isembert of Poitiers, Jordan of Limoges, Roho of Angoulême, Islo of Saintes, and Arnald of Périgueux appeared with the duke and others to consecrate the church of Limoges in 1028, according to the *Annales Lemovicenses* (MGH SS 2:251–52).

¹¹⁵ Behrends, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, nos. 102 (pp. 184–87) and 110 (pp. 196–97). See also *Nouaillé* 104 (pp. 172–74): Alfred Richard (*Histoire des comtes*, 1:182–83) presents this gathering as part of William the Great's efforts to procure the kingdom of Italy for his son. Thomas Head argues, however, that this gathering was a Peace council (see n. 128 below).

¹¹⁶ Marvaud, "Chartes relatifs au prieuré de Bouteville," no. 2 (pp. 349–57): "Placuit haec convenientia amicis et fidelibus meis, et una cum consilio domni Iterii, abbatis, expetivi suffragia et adiutorium vicinorum meorum episcoporum, domini videlicet Gota-fredi, archiepiscopi sanctae matris Ecclesiae Burdigalensis, et domini Islonis, episcopi Sanctonensis, et domini Arnaldi, episcopi Petragoricensis, et domini Rohonis, episcopi

Islo of Saintes followed the count's document with a charter of his own granting privileges and protection to Bouteville; the document was given, he tells us, with the advice of his fellow bishops.¹¹⁷ This kind of cooperation simply did not happen, according to the surviving charter record, in the first half of our period. In another example, Radulf of Périgueux issued a privilege for the house of Saint-Astier in 1013, which was confirmed by Seguin of Bordeaux, Grimoard of Angoulême, and Islo of Saintes.¹¹⁸ In this and other cases from the late tenth and eleventh centuries, we find the bishops of Aquitaine acting together, without the duke present, to confirm their own actions and those of other laymen.¹¹⁹

There were thus two distinct phases in the course of the relationships between the bishops of Aquitaine and lay rulers, particularly the dukes, in this period. The bishops acted more independently of the dukes and of their local counts and viscounts until the late tenth century. The situation then began to change: the bishops of Poitiers, beginning in 975, began to work more closely with the dukes; in 977 the bishopric of Limoges came into the hands of the local viscomital family; and from 988 the bishops of Angoulême cooperated with Count William IV Taillefer. This is also the moment when bishops from all these dioceses began to appear more frequently in gatherings with each other and with the dukes. This change may have been the result of political strategy on the part of the dukes and other high-ranking lay authorities, who

Engolismensis; quibus in unum conventis, antequam ad consecrationis gratiam pedem verterent, dixerunt nullo modo ecclesiam catholice posse benedici, nisi sub nomine dotis. Convenit autem mihi ut jussionibus eorum obtemperarem et sponsarem ipsam ecclesiam in nomine Domini..."

¹¹⁷ Marvaud, ed., "Chartes relatifs au prieuré de Bouteville," no. 3 (pp. 357–58).

¹¹⁸ Three versions of the foundation charter of Saint-Astier survive in early modern copies: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Périgord, volume 12 (microfilm 14680), ff. 206v–8; volume 34 (microfilm 16308), ff. 188–89 and 345v–46v; volume 77 (microfilm 14683), ff. 41v–42v.

¹¹⁹ Other cases of this phenomenon include the following examples: Grimoard of Angoulême, Islo of Saintes, and Seguin of Bordeaux gathered to witness the donation by Auscenda to Saint-Silvain in the Périgord in 1010: Theodore Graslier, ed., *Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge*. Vol. 2: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes* (Niort, 1871), 140 (pp. 106–8). Ademar of Chabannes recounts that Seguin of Bordeaux, Grimoard of Angoulême, and Islo of Saintes consecrated the cathedral of Angoulême in 1014 (*Chronicon* 3.51 [p. 171]). Grimoard of Angoulême and Islo of Saintes were brothers, which would perhaps explain their appearance in several charters together. This cannot have been the only reason for the cooperation between the two sees, however, given that it continued after Grimoard's death; nor would family ties explain the other examples of cooperation between bishops.

wished to forge ties with bishops in order to counter the rising power of castellans.¹²⁰ It may also have been a function of alliances between certain lay rulers: for example, the bishops of Angoulême cooperated with the counts of that city, who were in turn among the strongest allies of the dukes and may have brought the bishops into the ducal orbit. This causation does not hold for all dioceses, however: the bishops of Périgueux appeared frequently with the dukes and other Aquitanian bishops, for example, while the counts had few ties to the dukes in this period.¹²¹ Whatever the cause, one result of this increased interaction—both with the dukes and with their episcopal colleagues—was the development of an Aquitanian episcopate, in the sense that this group of bishops became accustomed to working with one another and came to collaborate regularly in performing various functions.¹²² It is against this background of increased cooperation with the dukes and a rise in joint action by bishops that we must understand the development of the Peace of God.

Although the origins of the Peace of God are found in the Auvergne with the activities of Bishop Guy II of Le Puy in the 970s, it was in Aquitaine that it became a coherent movement.¹²³ At the monastery of Charroux in 989, Archbishop Gumbald of Bordeaux gathered with his suffragans Hugh of Angoulême, Gilbert of Poitiers, Hildegard of Limoges, Frotier of Périgueux, and Abbo of Saintes, to address the “criminal activity” that had sprung up due to the long time that had elapsed since the last council. Outside this official meeting a large crowd of relics and people assembled in the fields around the monastery.¹²⁴ The tenants of

¹²⁰ André Debord analyzes the rising power of castellans in the region around Angoulême, for example, in *La société laïque*, pp. 104–51.

¹²¹ On the counts of Périgord and the dukes, see Muriel Laharie, “Le pouvoir comtal en Périgord de la fin du IX^e à la fin du XIII^e siècle: Traits généraux,” *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 106 (1979), 244–53, esp. p. 246. On the political situation in Saintes, where the bishops frequently cooperated with the duke and with other bishops in this period despite the fact that the region was dominated by the counts of Anjou, see Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, p. 198.

¹²² Treffort, “Le comte de Poitiers,” p. 431; Barthelemy, *L’an mil*, pp. 293–94.

¹²³ On the early Peace in the Auvergne, see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, “Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God,” in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, pp. 104–34.

¹²⁴ Mansi 19:89–90. On the council of Charroux, see Robert Favreau, “Le concile de Charroux de 989,” *BSAO* 5th series, 3 (1989), 213–219; idem, “Le concile de Charroux (989) et la paix de Dieu,” *Cahiers du Centre théologique de Poitiers* 10 (1989), 3–22; Thomas Gergen, “Le concile de Charroux et la paix de Dieu: Un pas vers l’unification du droit pénal au Moyen Âge?” *BSAO* 5th series, 12 (1998), 3–59; Thomas Head, “The

the sees present at Charroux met again at Limoges in 994, drawn there in part by an epidemic described by Ademar of Chabannes as a “plague of fire.” Two responses were offered to this crisis: agreements by the powerful men of the region to uphold peace and a parade of the relics of the local saint, Martial.¹²⁵ The Aquitanian bishops then gathered repeatedly in the early decades of the eleventh century, although exactly where and when has been a matter for discussion. Thomas Head recently argued that after Limoges 994, councils met in Poitiers in 999/1000, 1010/1011, 1015, 1025, 1029/1030 and 1036.¹²⁶ This list, as Head admits, is controversial for two reasons. First, it omits four councils recorded only in the works of Ademar of Chabannes, most notably the council of Limoges 1031, described in Ademar’s lengthy *procès-verbal*. While there is general scholarly consensus that Ademar’s accounts of the events at these councils—particularly their pronouncements concerning the apostolic status of Saint Martial—are largely fiction, disagreement persists on whether Ademar elaborated on councils that occurred or simply invented them.¹²⁷ Second, in the case of Head’s inclusion of the gatherings of 1015 and 1025, the surviving evidence is in the form of

Development of the Peace,” pp. 666–73; idem, “Letaldus of Micy and the Hagiographic Traditions of the Abbey of Nouaillé: The Context of the *Delatio corporis S. Juniani*,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997), 253–67; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 120–21.

¹²⁵ Limoges 994 is described in Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 157) and in Ademar’s sermons numbered 1–3: PL 141:115–24. For other sources, see Head, “The Development of the Peace,” p. 674 n. 82. On Ademar’s sermons, see Daniel Callahan, “Adémar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council of Limoges of 1031,” *Revue Bénédictine* 101 (1991), 32–49, esp. pp. 42–43; idem, “The Sermons of Adémar of Chabannes and the Cult of Saint Martial of Limoges,” *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976), 251–95, esp. pp. 254–55. On the council, see Richard Landes, “Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994–1033,” in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, pp. 184–218 at pp. 186–90.

¹²⁶ For this list, see Head, “Peace and Power,” pp. 5–6. For the council of Poitiers in 1000, see Head, “The Development of the Peace,” pp. 680–82. The canons of this council are found in Mansi 19:265–68. Some have argued that this council occurred in 1014: for example, Gergen, “Le concile de Charroux,” p. 31. For different list of councils, see Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 120–32; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 20 (Stuttgart, 1964), pp. 24–44.

¹²⁷ Head, “Peace and Power,” p. 6. For differing opinions on how to use Ademar’s council of Limoges 1031, see Louis Saltet, “Les faux d’Adémar de Chabannes: Prétendues décisions sur Saint Martial au concile de Bourges du 1er Novembre 1031,” *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 27 (1926), 145–60 at p. 146; Daniel Callahan, “Adémar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism,” and for a less cautious view by the same author “Adémar de Chabannes et la paix de Dieu,” *Annales du Midi* 89 (1977), 21–43; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 15–16, 277–78; Michael Frassetto, “Violence, Knightly Piety, and the Peace of God Movement in Aquitaine,” in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and Andrew

charters; in the absence of conciliar acts or explicit statements about the nature of the meetings, it is not clear whether they were in fact Peace councils or only instances in which bishops appeared with the dukes for other reasons.¹²⁸ Indeed, given the trend discussed above of bishops collaborating more closely with the dukes in this period, I am less inclined to assume that a gathering involving the duke and several bishops was necessarily a Peace council.

Despite any lingering debate about the exact list of Peace councils, it is clear that the role of Aquitanian bishops in this movement is important, in particular for our understanding of the relationship between these bishops and lay powers.¹²⁹ The historiography on the bishops' role in the Peace long focused on the movement as an ecclesiastical answer to political and social developments. The bishops of this era, according to this argument, saw the disappearance of effective royal and comital power, which led to an increase in violent behavior, as lords—particularly the rising castellan class—attempted to impose new demands on the church and peasantry. The kings and their officials, weakened by internal strife and external attack, could no longer deal

Villalon (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 13–26 at n. 14; Trumbore Jones, “Discovering the Aquitanian Church.”

¹²⁸ The evidence Head presents for the council of Poitiers in 1015 is two charters from Saint-Hilaire: *Saint-Hilaire* 71–72 (pp. 78–82). These two documents show William the Great, in the company of several of his key lay vassals and of Bishop Gilbert, issuing privileges protecting the land of Saint-Hilaire, for which he served as abbot. The evidence for the council of 1025 is the gathering attested to by the signatures of several Aquitanian bishops (of Poitiers, Bordeaux, Angoulême, Périgueux, and Limoges), the duke, the count of Angoulême, and others in a charter of Nouaillé: *Nouaillé* 104 (pp. 172–74). The charter concerns an exchange of land between Saint-Hilaire and the newly-built church of Our Lady at Lusignan. Alfred Richard saw this gathering not as a Peace council but as part of William the Great's exploration of the possibility of taking the kingdom of Italy for his son (Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:182–83). The latter explanation may be reinforced by a series of letters from the correspondence of Fulbert of Chartres referring to the duke's ambitions in Italy in 1025: *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert*, ed. and trans. Behrends, nos. 102–3 (pp. 184–91), 109 (pp. 194–95), 111–13 (pp. 196–203).

¹²⁹ For recent summaries of Peace scholarship, see Thomas Gergen, “The Geographical and Practical Legal Impact of the Peace of God in Eleventh Century Aquitaine,” in *Boundaries of the Law: Geography, Gender and Jurisdiction in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 21–37, at pp. 21–23; Head, “The Development of the Peace,” p. 657; and Jeffrey Bowman, “Councils, Memory and Mills: The Early Development of the Peace of God in Catalonia,” *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), 99–129 at pp. 99–103, which focuses particularly on how Peace scholarship has meshed with debates on the feudal revolution. For a more comprehensive survey, see Frederick Paxton, “History, Historians, and the Peace of God,” in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, pp. 21–40.

effectively with this behavior, necessitating new solutions. The bishops and clergy then stepped in, using ecclesiastical rulings and the threat of excommunication to protect church property and contain castellan violence. In this model, the Peace movement is seen as an innovation that responded to a new political situation, and the bishops are placed in opposition to rapacious lay lords and in lieu of feeble or absent lay authority.¹³⁰

Several key aspects of this model have been challenged, however. First, Janet Nelson and others have argued that the bishops of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries did not have to deal with unprecedented violence; Nelson observes that the same abuses condemned by Peace councils had been decried throughout the Carolingian period. Further, the Peace developed in Aquitaine, one of the regions of France with a more stable and effective ruler in the dukes, who called many of the councils. This makes it more difficult to argue that the Peace was either a response to widespread chaos or a resistance against all lay lords. Finally, the methods used in Peace councils were not strictly ecclesiastical, but rather saw a Carolingian-style marshalling of both ecclesiastical and lay power. Both in its origins and in its remedies, therefore, the Peace saw renewal of previous methods of governance, rather than simple innovation.¹³¹

If neither the situation faced by the bishops nor their response to it were unprecedented, the argument that these bishops took on a new role in re-establishing public order should be revised. Indeed, scholars such as Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, Hans-Werner Goetz, Jacques Paul, and Karl Werner have seen the Peace not as a novel development but rather as a continuation of Carolingian and earlier traditions of episcopal peacemaking that involved bishops cooperating with lay lords, rather than replacing them.¹³² Dominique Barthélemy is particularly

¹³⁰ For an influential version of this model, see Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XI^e siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 volumes, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse—Le Mirail A23 and 29 (Toulouse, 1975–1976), pp. 652–62.

¹³¹ Janet Nelson, review of *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, *Speculum* 69 (1994), 163–69; see also Gergen, “The Geographical and Practical Legal Impact,” p. 23.

¹³² Hans-Werner Goetz, “Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989–1038,” in *The Peace of God*, ed. Head and Landes, pp. 259–79, at p. 278; Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, “Les évêques et la paix dans l'espace Franc (VI^e–XI^e siècles),” in *L'évêque dans l'histoire de l'Église: Actes de la septième rencontre d'histoire religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 14 et 15 octobre*

scathing in rejecting what he calls “the myth of a heroic church in opposition to the rumblings of feudalism,” which he contrasts with his vision of the reality of Aquitanian history in the age of the Peace, which saw the duke leading councils, while the bishops—supposedly the force holding back violence—made wars with castellans and then struck deals with them.¹³³

While Barthélemy goes too far in condemning bishops for behavior that he sees as contradictory to the principles of the Peace, he is correct to place the Peace, and the participation of bishops, squarely in the context of Aquitanian developments. While certain elements of the Peace recurred as it spread from region to region, it is important to remember that local circumstances, and indeed the concerns of individual participants, shaped the movement in any given time and place.¹³⁴ As we have seen, the 970s were a turning point in the relations between the dukes and bishops of Aquitaine. The bishops of Poitiers and prelates from other dioceses began to meet regularly with the duke in the 970s and 980s. At the same time—particularly from the 990s forward—the bishops began to appear in each other’s company more frequently, joining together to reinforce each other’s decisions, such as the foundation or endowment of religious houses. The Peace fits neatly within these trends: in a period characterized by increased collaboration, the bishops met at Charroux in 989 without the duke, but proceeded immediately thereafter to a meeting with William Iron-Arm at Maillezais, where they consecrated his new church and, presumably, reported on the

1983 (Angers, 1984), pp. 33–50; Jacques Paul, “Les conciles de paix aquitains antérieurs à l’an mil,” in *Année mil An Mil*, ed. Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2002), pp. 177–209; Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Observations sur le rôle des évêques dans le mouvement de paix aux X^e et XI^e siècles,” in *Mediaevalia Christiana XI^e–XIII^e siècles: Hommage à Raymonde Foreville de ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves*, ed. Coloman Étienne Viola ([Paris], 1989), pp. 155–95. Some debate on this issue has centered around the meaning of the statement in the acts of Charroux that the violence in the region was due to their “long delay in calling a council.” Some scholars have argued that this means the bishops were beginning something new with this council (Head, “Peace and Power,” p. 6) while others argue that this phrase indicates the bishops’ sense of continuing a long-standing tradition. I incline toward the latter position.

¹³³ Barthélemy, *L’an mil*, p. 306.

¹³⁴ Excellent examples of this approach to the Peace include Head, “The Development of the Peace”; Bowman, “Councils, Memory and Mills”; Adam J. Kosto, “Oliba, Peacemaker,” in *Actes del Congrés internacional Gerbert D’Orlhac i el seu temps: Catalunya i Europa a la fi del 1r millenni*, ed. Imma Ollich i Castanyer (Vic, 1999), pp. 135–49.

events of the council.¹³⁵ Future councils would have the duke present, and many were called by him. Most were held at Poitiers, the ducal capital. The list of attendees at these councils was determined by political rather than ecclesiastical organization, as signaled by the absence of Bordeaux's suffragan of Agen, which lay in Gascony, and the presence of the bishop of Limoges from the archdiocese of Bourges.¹³⁶

In Aquitaine, therefore, the Peace of God did not array bishops and ecclesiastical statutes against lay lords, but rather saw cooperation between secular and religious leaders to stem the ambitions of lesser lords, protect the church, and reform certain aspects of clerical life. An advantage of this understanding of the Peace is that it allows both for elements of continuity, particularly the long-standing tradition of such collaboration between bishops and rulers, and of novelty, given that these particular instances of collaboration responded to individual circumstances, including the rise of castellan power, and were justified by theology that reflected the times.¹³⁷ But how did the bishops themselves conceive of the Peace? If we examine the careers of bishops whose reigns saw the beginning of the Peace of God, there is no indication that they behaved any differently, or conceived of their office in new ways, because of the Peace councils. Nor do bishops refer explicitly to Peace councils or their legislation in the surviving documentary evidence.¹³⁸ For them, it may have seemed less an innovative movement than a continuation of long-standing responsibilities of powerful laymen and clergy. Indeed, as we saw in the agreement struck by Hugh of Angoulême, Aquitanian bishops were likely developing the sort of

¹³⁵ Pon and Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La fondation de l'abbaye*, pp. 108–9; Jacques Paul suggests that William Iron-Arm may actually have been present at Charroux: “Les conciles de paix aquitains,” pp. 185–86.

¹³⁶ Some scholars have seen Charroux 989 as a gathering hostile to William Iron-Arm, in part because Gumbald of Bordeaux, brother of the duke of Gascony, may have been William Iron-Arm's rival; the other bishops, however, were his allies. Both Head and Paul have cautioned against this view, however: “The Development of the Peace,” p. 668; “Les conciles de la paix,” pp. 185–86.

¹³⁷ On the circumstances surrounding early Aquitanian Peace councils, see Head, “The Development of the Peace”; on the contemporary events that may have driven the switch from reliance on Pseudo-Isidore at Charroux 989 to Hilary of Poitiers and Gregory the Great at Poitiers 1000, see Head, “Peace and Power,” pp. 9–11. For a rejection of polarizing characterizations of the Peace in favor of a more balanced view, see Bowman, “Councils, Memory and Mills,” p. 129.

¹³⁸ There is little sign of what Thomas Gergen refers to as the “practical meaning” of the Peace: “The Geographical and Practical Legal Impact,” pp. 26–29; *Pratique juridique de la paix et trêve de Dieu à partir du concile de Charroux (989–1250)*, Rechtshistorische Reihe 285 (Frankfurt, 2004).

pacts we see as characteristic of the Peace before its official outset. Of course, this characterization of the episcopal role in the Peace should not obscure the fact that the Peace was a multi-faceted movement, and that certain features of it, such as the relic jamborees accompanying the councils, or the millennial expectations that may have driven some to participate, could have been more unprecedented than others.¹³⁹ From the point of view of the bishops of Aquitaine, however, I would argue that the Peace was seen as part of both short- and long-term trends in the relations of church leaders with lay powers. It is intriguing to consider that in the eyes of some of its key participants, the Peace of God—a movement that has monopolized scholarly attention—would have been merely one element in the larger political and institutional development of Aquitaine and its church.

Conclusion

Ties between the bishops of Aquitaine and powerful laity were ubiquitous in this period, influencing the ways in which bishops came to their office and how they functioned once there. The bishops came from aristocratic families, a fact that allowed them to reach the episcopate and shaped some aspects of their piety. The bishops' ties to their families also involved them in networks of patronage that drew them to benefit, and in some cases to exploit, religious houses. As we saw in the opening example of Hildegard of Limoges's privilege for Uzerche, public and private interests might combine in one action—indeed, such distinctions often did not hold. The dukes of Aquitaine were also an important lay influence on the selection and actions of bishops in their realm. Episcopal policy at religious houses was shaped, although not exclusively, by ducal influence, and the bishops' political involvement was often dictated by their ties to the dukes. The Aquitanian bishops also acted together as a group more frequently as the power of the dukes over their realm was solidified.

It would go too far to suggest that bishops in this period were dominated by the dukes or by their familial obligations; such a characterization would not reflect the variation in the type and strength of influence that we have seen. Furthermore, as Timothy Reuter has pointed out,

¹³⁹ Paul, "Les conciles de la paix," pp. 207–9.

we should not underestimate the effects on an individual of taking on the office of bishop: "There were severe limits to how far any cheques drawn on the bank account of obligation before the bishop went through these rites of passage could actually be cashed afterwards."¹⁴⁰ And yet these bishops would have seen as foreign later reform efforts to separate the worldly from the ecclesiastical—to do so would be to destroy the interweaving of powers that made the episcopal office unique and effective. Contemporary Aquitanian commentators seem to have concurred in this view; in the rare cases when they complained about episcopal involvement in politics, it was because the bishop took the wrong side of a dispute, not because he took part in the dispute at all.

Scholarship must therefore continue to catch up to the sophistication and nuance with which contemporaries viewed this matter. We must not envision the bishops purely as spiritual defenders of the church against encroachments of lay lords, nor should we catalog episcopal involvement in sieges, disputes, and political maneuvering with a glee born from exposing sordid truths about these figures.¹⁴¹ Nor should we see, as contemporaries did not, bishops' involvement in politics and war as incompatible with other episcopal activities, such as their role in promoting the Peace of God.¹⁴² It is more helpful to look at these political activities as a result of the fact that bishops emerged from an aristocratic milieu and as part of the difficult nature of the office itself. At times family considerations were foremost in the bishops' minds, and they took actions to defend them.¹⁴³ These are the same bishops who would, at other times, re-found houses, give lavish donations, and issue privileges. Nor should we assume that the bishops themselves did not understand the difficulty of the balancing act their position required: as we shall see in subsequent chapters, episcopal charters express concern that their worldly wealth and entanglements might be detrimental to their soul. Most of them seem to have accepted that the balance was necessary, and they remedied any potential harm it caused through well-worn measures, rather than by changing the nature of the office.

¹⁴⁰ Reuter, "Bishops, Rites of Passage," in *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, p. 34.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, Barthélemy, *L'an mil*, pp. 301–6.

¹⁴² Paradoxically, by setting up this contrast, Barthélemy also over-simplifies the bishops' actions as part of Peace councils, which were in fact often tied to familial as well as institutional concerns: see Head, "The Development of the Peace."

¹⁴³ For a balanced overview of episcopal "secular" behavior, see Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, pp. 201–10.

CHAPTER FOUR

EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY AT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

On 19 November 1031, the second day of a council held at Limoges, the participants finally completed their debate concerning the apostolicity of the local saint, Martial, which had engaged them for the entirety of the first session. The assembled clergy moved on to other business, confirming the canons promulgated at the recent council of Bourges and hammering out the proper procedure for ensuring that local churches would have enough reserved hosts for the Eucharist. In the course of the latter discussion, Bishop Jordan of Limoges spoke of the role of bishops and councils in supervising monasteries with regard to liturgical matters, as in all things:

We will entrust regular monasteries of monks to the will of their abbots concerning these things, just as in all rules, because they conscientiously and finely take care of all things for the Eucharistic liturgy. Those who desire to enter through the narrow and majestic gate of life more than we do, who break their own will, who carry the yoke from youth, and who are obedient in the highest degree to the orders of their bishops in all things ought not to be restricted by our laws. It is not proper, I repeat, to subject such people to the laws of councils, unless they are open to being despised or reprimanded strongly.¹

Although it is Jordan who utters these words in the account of the council, there is doubt as to whether they truly represent the bishop's own opinions. The proceedings of the council come from the hand of Ademar of Chabannes, and it has been shown that certain portions—particularly those concerning the apostolicity of Saint Martial, for which Ademar was an ardent advocate—were fabricated.² It is

¹ Mansi 19:536; PL 142:1386. "Monasteria vero monachorum regularia, quia diligentius et nitidius omnia ad cultum altaris procurant, in abbatum suorum arbitrio de his, sicut de aliis regulis, permittimus. Illi enim nostris legibus constringi non debent, qui ultra nos per arctam et angustam portam vitae ingredi appetunt, qui voluntatem propriam frangunt, qui jugum ab adolescentia portant, qui episcoporum jussis summo opere in omnibus obediunt. Tales, inquam, legibus non oportet subijci conciliorum, nisi forte reprehensioni vel contemptui patuerint."

² For the council of 1031 in particular, see Jean Becquet, "Le concile de Limoges de 1031," *BSAHL* 128 (2000), 23–64; Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 113–14.

unknown whether the non-Martial material of the council was forged as well; for our purposes this question is less important, although it would of course be valuable to know for certain that this passage represented Jordan's own views.³ Whether the sentiments are Jordan's or Ademar's, they remain of interest, as they represent a contemporary statement on the proper role of bishops at monasteries. The passage asserted that, due to their admirable way of life, monastic communities were to be relatively independent from conciliar interference and governed primarily by their abbots. Nonetheless, monasteries must be obedient to their bishops in all things and they were subject to discipline if they needed to be reformed; indeed, the council proceeded to consider the case of the dissolute monastery of Beaulieu on the heels of Jordan's statement.

In asserting the legitimacy of episcopal involvement at monasteries, both independently and as part of a council, this passage drew upon a long legal tradition. Beginning at Chalcedon in 451 and continuing through the Carolingian period, church councils established the subjection of monasteries to their diocesan bishops.⁴ Despite these rulings, some houses sought to evade the control of their local bishop or to receive exemptions from episcopal power throughout the early Middle Ages. Those who pushed for greater independence from episcopal oversight cited revered authorities to justify their position, notably

³ Scholarly opinion varies on the trustworthiness of the material from this council. Jean Becquet and Louis Saltet accept the non-Martial material as genuine: Becquet, "Le concile de Limoges," pp. 23–25; Saltet, "Les faux d'Adémar," p. 146. Daniel Callahan and Thomas Head express doubt about all the proceedings: Callahan, "Adémar de Chabannes et la paix," pp. 42–44, and for a more skeptical take by the same author, "Adémar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism," pp. 36–37 and 48–49; Head, "The Development of the Peace," pp. 657–58 n. 7. For a middle position, see Michael Frassetto, "Violence, Knightly Piety, and the Peace of God," in *The Final Argument*, ed. Kagay and Villalon, pp. 15–16 n. 14; Trumbore Jones, "Discovering the Aquitanian Church."

⁴ For a survey of canon law relating to the relationship between bishops and monasteries from late antiquity to the year 1000, see Charles W. Henry, *Canonical Relations between the Bishops and Abbots at the Beginning of the Tenth Century*, The Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies 382 (Washington, DC, 1957). For the period from the sixth to ninth centuries, see Terence P.; McLaughlin, *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'Occident*, Archives de la France monastique 38 (Paris, 1935), esp. pp. 129–71. For a cogent summary of this tradition and revision of important points see Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 32–36. For the role of the papacy in the development of monastic exemption from episcopal power at the end of our period, see Ludwig Falkenstein, *La papauté et les abbayes françaises aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: Exemption et protection apostolique* (Paris, 1997).

certain letters of Pope Gregory the Great.⁵ This trend culminated in the exemptions from episcopal control that were given by the popes to the monasteries of Fleury and Cluny around the year 1000, which today are the best-known aspect of episcopal-monastic relations in France in this period. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, was one of the most ardent opponents of episcopal involvement at monasteries, and he left behind a considerable oeuvre dedicated to this question. Abbo's ideal bishop, as portrayed in his letters and canon law collection, was a bishop absent from the life of a monastery. Abbo's opinions in this matter were deeply influenced by his bitter struggle with Bishop Arnulf of Orléans over Arnulf's rights at Fleury.⁶ The exemption movement at Fleury and Cluny has received much scholarly attention, in part because it is seen as a forerunner of important aspects of the eleventh-century papal reforms: monasteries began to seek papal approval in their struggle for independence from episcopal control, thus increasing both the prestige and the practical authority of the papacy.⁷ Consequently, the tenth century has been seen

⁵ Becquet, "Le concile de Limoges," p. 47. For Gregory's thought on the role of bishops at monasteries, see his letters: Gregory the Great, *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum*, ed. Dag Norberg, 2 volumes, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140 (Turnhout, 1982). Of particular interest are his letters to Bishops Castorius of Rimini (1:342–43), Marinianus of Ravenna (2:536–38), and John of Squillace (2:555–57).

⁶ The works of Abbo of Fleury are found in PL 139: the letters in cols. 419–61; the *apologia* to Kings Hugh and Robert in cols. 461–72; and the canon law collection in cols. 473–508. On Abbo and Arnulf see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge, 1990), chapter 6; Jean-François Lemarignier, "Le monachisme et l'encadrement religieux des campagnes du royaume de France situées au nord de la Loire, de la fin du X à la fin du XI siècle," in *Recueil d'articles rassemblés par ses disciples: Structures politiques et religieuses dans la France du haut Moyen Âge* (Rouen, 1995), pp. 387–427; Marco Mostert, "L'abbé, l'évêque et le pape: L'image de l'évêque idéal dans les oeuvres d'Abbon de Fleury," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie. Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an mil*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris, 1990), pp. 39–45; idem, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury*, Medieval Studies and Sources 2 (Hilversum, 1987); Pierre Riché, "Arnoul, évêque d'Orléans en l'an mille," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais* new series 10, no. 80 (1988), 18–25; Rosenwein, Head, and Farmer, "Monks and their Enemies," pp. 780–84. On the exemptions of Fleury and Cluny, see Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, chapter 8.

⁷ Henry, *Canonical Relations*, pp. 92–96. See also Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," in *À Cluny: Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en honneur des saints abbés Odon et Odilon, 9–11 juillet 1949* (Dijon, 1951), pp. 288–340. The situations at Fleury and Cluny were quite different: Cluny's relationship with its bishop was far less hostile than that of Fleury, despite the fact that Cluny received an exemption: Rosenwein, Head, and Farmer, "Monks and their Enemies," p. 767.

as a key moment in the history of episcopal relations with monasteries and as a turning point in the development of the church hierarchy more generally. As significant as the exemption movements at Fleury and Cluny were, however, it is important not to generalize too far from them, and to investigate the nature of episcopal relations with religious houses in regions such as Aquitaine, where exemption-seeking monastic reform movements did not take deep root.⁸

Episcopal involvement at religious communities has also been discussed in the context of the so-called proprietary church or *Eigenkirche*. Traditionally, scholarship on this subject asserted a separation between the authority of clergy over churches based on office on the one hand, and that of private individuals, which often undermined clerical authority, on the other. More recently, however, the clarity of that distinction has been brought into question.⁹ In that vein, I would argue that we should be aware of two factors in understanding episcopal control of religious houses. First, as we saw in chapter two, it can be difficult to distinguish a bishop's own private lands from institutional holdings, and clear distinctions between private and public seem not to have been emphasized in contemporary sources. Second, a bishop's influence at a community rarely stemmed exclusively from one source; considerations of blood or worldly concerns often joined those of office in prompting

⁸ This is not to say that reform figures or their ideas were unknown in this region. Abbo of Fleury passed through Aquitaine in 1004 in the course of a journey to Gascony that would end in his murder at the monastery of La Réole. Abbo stopped at the monastery of Saint-Cyprien in Poitiers and while there wrote a letter to Odilo of Cluny concerning problems of discipline that he witnessed at the house: letter 12, found in PL 139:438–39; see also Aimo of Fleury, *Vita Sancti Abbonis*, PL 139:375–414, esp. c. 17 (cols. 407–8). Abbo's letter suggests that Saint-Cyprien fell under the authority of Cluny in this period; there is no evidence, however, of what this arrangement consisted of or when and how it had come about. Ademar of Chabannes recorded Abbo's visit to his monastery of Saint-Cybard in Angoulême during the same journey: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.39 (pp. 159–60); Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 85. Ademar also provides us with the only surviving copy of Abbo's canon law collection, in his autograph manuscript: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 2400, ff. 154–62 (for a description, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, pp. 362–65). Ademar thus knew of Abbo's opinions on episcopal involvement in monasteries when he confected the acts of the council of Limoges in 1031, including the speeches therein on episcopal rights over monasteries. Furthermore, there was a tenth-century manuscript containing part of the register of Gregory the Great at Ademar's adopted monastery of Saint-Martial in Limoges (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 2279); Ademar would thus have had access to these key texts in the arsenal of contemporary monastic reform.

⁹ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, provides an overview of the definition and use of the term on pp. 1–5; for bishops and the proprietary church, see esp. pp. 191–210, 418–31, and 692–726. See also discussion in chapter 3 above, pp. 84–86.

a bishop to act. Once again, any neat separation of episcopal duties and motives does not hold up on closer examination.

The documents from tenth-century Aquitaine show bishops involved at religious houses—both monasteries and houses of canons—in a variety of capacities. First, there are several examples of individual Aquitanian bishops ruling religious houses, sometimes using the title of abbot. Such cases would undoubtedly have exasperated Abbo of Fleury, but there is no indication that those involved viewed them as unusual or necessarily detrimental to the functioning of the house. Certain houses, meanwhile, established longer-term relationships with a see and its successive tenants, an arrangement not dissimilar to what we are accustomed to seeing between a house and a powerful family. Bishops also exercised power over religious houses as judges, although the surviving evidence on this role is one-sided: monasteries tended to preserve documents that showed the bishop championing their rights in a dispute, rather than rebuking them for any wrongdoing. Conflicts between bishops and religious houses were rare, and when they did occur, were seemingly quickly resolved. Aquitaine presents a striking picture of harmonious interaction between regular and secular clergy, and serves as a useful corrective to the tension between these groups found in certain other regions of France.

Episcopus atque abbas:
Episcopal Rule of Religious Houses

It is common when working with diplomatic sources to find tantalizing bits of evidence dropped with a frustrating lack of elaboration or explanation. In one such case, Bishop Alboin of Poitiers is named in a charter from the mid-tenth century as “Alboin, with the grace of God intervening, bishop and abbot of the monastery of Nouaillé.”¹⁰ Alboin’s use of the abbatial title attracts immediate attention: although

¹⁰ *Nouaillé* 56 (pp. 96–98). The editor dated this charter to 943/944 or 951/952 and explained that the month, although given in the original document, is too smudged to be legible. Robert Favreau, on the other hand, argues that the charter can be dated to 19–30 June 950 or 1–18 June 951 (“Carolingiens et Robertiens,” in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, p. 188). In his introduction, the editor dated Alboin’s abbacy to 943–952 (*Nouaillé*, p. xvii). The *Gallia Christiana* (2:1160) states that Alboin was also abbot of Charroux and Saint-Cyprien, but there is no good evidence for his abbacy of those two houses, as Rédet argues in his introduction to the charters of Saint-Cyprien: *Saint-Cyprien*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

it is fairly common to find bishops exercising extensive authority over monasteries in tenth-century Aquitaine, their use of the title of abbot is rare, occurring in only one other case.¹¹ Having piqued the curiosity of the reader concerning Alboin's role at Nouaillé, however, the documents fail to satisfy it, as the only other charter from Nouaillé in which Alboin appears is from ten years later, when he apparently was no longer abbot.¹² Both documents are land grants that do not elaborate on Alboin's status, thus leaving many questions unanswered. Why did Alboin take the abbacy and why did he give it up? Was his reign only intended to be a temporary measure until the house elected a regular abbot?¹³ If so, why did he use the abbatial title? The better-documented abbacy of Bishop Ebles of Limoges at the monastery of Saint-Maixent provides a more detailed look at a bishop-abbot and gives insight into the circumstances that might lead a bishop to play such a role.

The direction of the Poitevin monasteries of Saint-Maixent, Saint-Michel en l'Erm, and Saint-Liguair has been ascribed to Ebles, although only his rule at Saint-Maixent is verifiable.¹⁴ The dates of Ebles's reign as

¹¹ Bishop-abbots were not uncommon elsewhere in this period and earlier, however. See, for example, De Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. McKitterick, pp. 627–28; Franz J. Felten, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich: Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 20 (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. 32–47; for a tenth-century Catalan example of such a figure, see Kosto, "Oliba, Peacemaker," in *Actes del Congrès*, ed. Castanyer, pp. 136–37.

¹² *Nouaillé* 63 (pp. 106–7). Dated by the editor to April 959 or 962. Favreau ("Carolingiens et Robertiens," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, p. 188) favors the date of 962.

¹³ The Carolingian capitulary of Quierzy ruled that if an abbot died, it was the duty of the bishop and the count or proprietor of a house to protect it until another abbot had been chosen: see the Capitulary of Quierzy, June 877, in MGH Legum 2: *Capitularia Regum Francorum* 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover, 1897), pp. 355–61, at c. 8, p. 358. It is not clear, however, whether this document, issued as Charles the Bald left on campaign in Italy, represented broader Carolingian practice on this point. On the circumstances of the capitulary's composition, see Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), pp. 248–51. See also Henry, *Canonical Relations*, p. 99.

¹⁴ For the link between Ebles and Saint-Liguair, see Françoise Coutansais, "Les monastères du Poitou avant l'an mil," *Revue Mabillon* 53 (1963), 1–21 at p. 17 and Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:97. Both cite an entry in the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 92–93: "Anno DCCCCLXI regnante Lothario, erat domnus Ebulus episcopus et abba Sancti Maxentii, regens abbatiam. Hoc tempore exstructum est cenobium Sancte Marie et Sancti Vincentii Sanctique Leodegarii martiris quod est situm super Severa." In my opinion, the link between Ebles and Saint-Liguair, as described in this passage, is more tenuous than Coutansais and Richard assert. On Ebles at Saint-Michel, see Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:95; Coutansais, "Les monastères du Poitou," p. 17.

abbot of Saint-Maixent, like those of the other tenth-century abbots of the house, are difficult to ascertain. The earliest date attributed to Ebles's abbacy is 936; the first securely-dated charter in which he appears at the house is from 950.¹⁵ For most of his period in office, beginning in 942 at the latest, Ebles ruled with a co-abbot, Girbert.¹⁶ The end of Ebles's reign, meanwhile, has been dated to 962 or 963, based on three pieces of evidence. First, the final explicit mentions of Ebles as abbot come in a chronicle entry dated 961 and a charter from March 962.¹⁷ Second, Ebles donated land to Saint-Maixent in a charter from 965/966, in which he used only his episcopal title.¹⁸ Finally, other abbots began to appear in the documents from Saint-Maixent around this time: Abbot Odo in 963 and Abbot Ramnulf in 965/966.¹⁹ There has been debate over the list of abbots at Saint-Maixent in these decades, with two different

The primary sources do not mention Ebles as abbot: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147); *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 84–85; *Gallia Christiana* 2:Instrumenta 408–10 (believed to be a forgery).

¹⁵ The *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* (pp. 86–87) states that Ebles was both bishop of Limoges and abbot of Saint-Maixent in 936. This statement is partially inaccurate: we know that Ebles was not yet bishop in 936 because his predecessor, Turpio, did not die until 26 July 944 (*Annales Lemovicenses*, MGH SS 2:251). It is usually accepted, however, that Ebles's reign as abbot of Saint-Maixent began in 936, although the text actually states that he was abbot in 936; certainly this is the first mention of Ebles as abbot in the sources. The *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* and Ademar of Chabannes's chronicle both record that William Tow-Head gave the abbeys of Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Maixent to Ebles, but Ebles never used the title of abbot of Saint-Hilaire, and in fact it was William who did: *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 84–85; Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 146). The earliest charter in which Ebles appears as abbot is *Saint-Maixent* 18 (pp. 30–31).

¹⁶ Abbot Girbert first appears in *Saint-Maixent* 16 (pp. 28–29), dated to February 942. The idea of a bishop ruling a house with a co-abbot is not unknown. Felten, in his discussion of bishop-abbots in the Carolingian Empire, mentions that bishops who controlled monasteries often installed compliant men as directors of the house, who usually bore the abbatial title: *Äbte und Laienäbte*, p. 46. See also Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges*, pp. 242–48; Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VII–XI^e siècles): Contribution à l'histoire religieuse des campagnes du haut Moyen Âge*, Beihefte der Francia 14 (Sigmaringen, 1985), p. 298.

¹⁷ *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 92–93; *Saint-Maixent* 26 (pp. 40–41).

¹⁸ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50). This charter is dated by Ebles's reference to his brother's death, which occurred in 963 and which, according to the editor (in a dubious assumption), must have been a fresh sorrow when the charter was given, since Ebles gave the land both for his brother's soul and for the consolation of his nephew William Iron-Arm, the new duke. The charter had been dated by others to 964, but the editor points out (see note on p. 48) that Ramnulf is named as the abbot of Saint-Maixent; Ramnulf's predecessor, Odo, was still abbot in 964, and thus the editor moves the charter's date slightly later.

¹⁹ See *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 94–95, for the mention of Abbot Odo in 963; he also appears in *Saint-Maixent* 28 (p. 43), dated 963/964, and 29 (pp. 44–45), dated

models proposed. The first, offered by Alfred Richard in his edition of the charters of the house, posits that Saint-Maixent was ruled by two abbots throughout the mid-tenth century, beginning with Ebles and Girbert and continuing with other combinations.²⁰ By contrast, an older list from the *Gallia Christiana* shows Saint-Maixent ruled by individual abbots, with the exception of the years when Ebles ruled as co-abbot.²¹ In the latter reconstruction, Ebles's reign was the exception, rather than the rule. Let us turn to Ebles's actions at Saint-Maixent to gain a better understanding of his role at the house, and then return to the question of how he might fit among the list of abbots.

Ebles rebuilt Saint-Maixent, which had suffered damage in the course of the ninth century, with the help of his brother, Count William Tow-Head of Poitou.²² The beginning of Ebles's abbacy, which was underway by 936, probably coincided with some phase of this reconstruction. By 942 Girbert was serving as his co-abbot. Ebles and Girbert appeared separately in numerous documents, but they were also mentioned together in a donation made to the monks, "who serve in this place day and night, with the fear of God and observance of the holy rule, under the guidance of lord Ebles, the bishop of the see of Limoges, and of Abbot Girbert."²³ Ebles appeared in a total of eight charters at Saint-Maixent but he was given the title of abbot in only two of these.²⁴ In a third he is referred to as a "kind pastor" of the house.²⁵ In three further documents, he uses only his episcopal title, while in two more he is referred to as the bishop who rules the house.²⁶ The cases in which Ebles was explicitly called the abbot or pastor of Saint-Maixent are scattered chronologically throughout his reign—there is not one particular period

May 964. The first mention of Ramnulf in the charters is in Ebles's donation. Ramnulf died in 968, according to the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 94–95.

²⁰ *Saint-Maixent*, introduction by Alfred Richard, pp. xl, lxxv–lxxiii.

²¹ *Gallia Christiana* 2:1247–50.

²² Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 146); *Saint-Maixent* 23 (pp. 35–37).

²³ *Saint-Maixent* 24 (p. 38); dated to 944–962: "et ad monachos, qui in ipsum locum cum Dei timore et observatione sancte regule sub regimine domni Hebloni Lemovicensis sedis episcopi vel Girberti abbati die noctuquae deservunt." It is worth noting that none of the other supposed co-abbots of Saint-Maixent (Girbert and Odo, or Girbert and Ramnulf) ever appeared together in this way in a document.

²⁴ *Saint-Maixent* 20 (pp. 32–33) from July 959 and 26 (pp. 40–41) from March 962.

²⁵ *Saint-Maixent* 18 (pp. 30–31) from October 950.

²⁶ As bishop only: *Saint-Maixent* 19 (p. 31) from April 955; 23 (pp. 35–37) from ca. 960; 33 (pp. 48–50) from January 965/966. As bishop ruling the house: *Saint-Maixent* 24 (pp. 37–39) from 944–962; 25 (pp. 39–40).

in which he used the abbatial title. In what contexts, therefore, did he involve himself at the monastery while calling himself (or being called) abbot or pastor?

He appeared as abbot at the comital court in the summer of 959 to accuse Count William Tow-Head's man, Bego, of seizing the land of Saint-Maixent.²⁷ Ebles's allegation precipitated the settlement of this dispute by William. It seems probable that Ebles, rather than Girbert, represented the monastery in this case because the count was his brother and the accused was the count's faithful man; it thus was prudent to have such an eminent figure arguing the house's case in this potentially delicate situation. Appearances at the comital court were not exclusive to Ebles, however, as we find Girbert there more than once, albeit in less charged situations than the case of Bego.²⁸

The final two documents in which Ebles was called abbot or pastor of Saint-Maixent seem to concern more routine business than the confrontation at his brother's court. In a case from 950, Ebles granted a piece of Saint-Maixent's land to a man named Godemerus and his wife Ermengardis.²⁹ The amount of land given was not remarkable, and there is no indication that Ebles had a special relationship with the recipients. A dozen years later, in 962, Ebles and Saint-Maixent exchanged land with Isembard, the custodian of the church of Notre-Dame de Porte-Dieu.³⁰ Again, the amount of land in question does not seem unusually large. There are no names common to the two witness lists, so it cannot be argued that Ebles was more likely to use the title of abbot when a certain group of people was involved. It is difficult, therefore, to ascertain the manner in which Girbert and Ebles, the co-abbots of Saint-Maixent, divided their responsibilities, especially given the paucity of the evidence. There is not a coherent set of donations or actions that Ebles always handled, nor was it always he who appeared at the comital court. It is possible that he acted as abbot in particularly sensitive cases—as when the monastery had to challenge the count's man—or when he happened to be at the abbey.

How, then, to characterize Ebles's abbacy at Saint-Maixent? On the one hand, his use of the abbatial title is certainly significant: although

²⁷ *Saint-Maixent* 20 (pp. 32–33).

²⁸ Girbert appeared at the comital court to beg favors from William Tow-Head and his son: *Saint-Maixent* 27 (pp. 42–43) and 37 (pp. 53–54).

²⁹ *Saint-Maixent* 18 (pp. 30–31).

³⁰ *Saint-Maixent* 26 (pp. 40–41).

bishops controlled religious houses in Aquitaine in this period with some frequency, it is rare and therefore noteworthy to see a bishop referred to as abbot. On the other hand, Ebles's use of the title was only intermittent. This has two possible, and not mutually exclusive, explanations. First, Ebles held a range of offices, and it may be that he or a scribe would choose the most appropriate title or titles to attribute to him in a given situation. The fact that a title is not used in a particular charter is not conclusive proof that the individual did not hold that office at that time. Second, I suggest that Ebles was not an ordinary abbot, with the concomitant well-defined role at Saint-Maixent, but rather that his abbacy was a fluid position that was part of his multifaceted relationship with Saint-Maixent. Ebles restored the community's buildings, reassembled its holdings, took part in his family's relationship with the house, gave a major gift to the monks, and served as their abbot (although not the sole abbot). His use of the abbatial title may have originated at a time when the newly-reformed house lacked a leader; its continued appearance was likely an acknowledgment of Ebles's power at the house and his role as its advocate and benefactor, rather than a sign that he held the position of abbot in a more traditional sense. Indeed, it may be better to understand his position in terms of an older meaning of the title—that of father, with the qualities of protection and beneficence that role carries.

If Ebles's abbacy was a function of his particular position at Saint-Maixent, rather than proof that a second regular abbot was an institution at the house, then this weakens the assertion that two abbots systematically governed Saint-Maixent in the tenth century. It seems more likely that Ebles's position was unique to him, a product of his special involvement at Saint-Maixent, and therefore not an obligation that would be taken up by another. This in turn suggests that perhaps the *Gallia Christiana*'s list of abbots, which did not include the repeated appearance of co-abbots, deserves reconsideration. Further, if we see Ebles's abbacy in this light, the questions concerning the intermittent use of his title and the unknown date of the end of his reign as abbot become less troublesome. Were his position unique to his particular situation, it would not be surprising that he would appear only periodically at the house and that neither he nor scribes would always attribute the abbatial title to him. What is more, Ebles would have maintained some influence at Saint-Maixent even if his official abbacy ended, and thus determining the exact end of his reign becomes less pressing.

Aside from these two cases in which bishops were abbots, there are numerous examples in tenth-century Aquitaine in which bishops held religious houses in their power without employing the abbatial title. We learn from a charter of Saint-Jean d'Angély, for example, that Bishop Isembert I of Poitiers ruled the monastery of Saint-Benoît de Quinçay.³¹ The document in question dates from August of 1027, and describes an exchange of lands between the monks of Saint-Benoît and those of Saint-Jean. The two parties in the transaction are described as follows:

For the benefit of both parties, it was pleasing and it was agreed between Abbot Aimeri of Saint-Jean d'Angély and his congregation, and the monks of Saint Mary and Saint Andrew and Benedict the Blessed of Christ at Quinçay, that they ought to exchange their lands. And this was done through the consent and will of lord Bishop Isembert, who then ruled the above-named abbey.³²

The document states outright that Isembert ruled Saint-Benoît, but is it correct to attribute the abbacy to him?³³ The language of the charter suggests not, as it goes some distance to avoid giving Isembert the abbatial title—there is no parallel structure of Abbot Aimeri and the monks versus Abbot Isembert and the monks. This impression becomes more fixed as the charter progresses. Saint-Jean's part of the exchange is described as a gift of lands by the abbot and monks; for Saint-Benoît's contribution, on the other hand, the charter records that the monks gave lands, with lord Bishop Isembert consenting.³⁴ If Isembert ruled Saint-Benoît, but he was not abbot, this raises questions about the nature of his position and the reasons that he controlled the monastery.

Unfortunately, it is not clear from this evidence how or why Bishop Isembert came to rule Saint-Benoît de Quinçay. This is not unusual in

³¹ *Saint-Jean* 252 (1:307–9). On Saint-Benoît see “Cartularium rerum Majoris Monasterii Turonensis in inferiori Pictavia,” in *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou*, ed. Paul A. Marchegay (Les Roches-Baritaud, 1877).

³² *Saint-Jean* 252 (1:307): “Pro ambarum partium utilitatibus placuit atque convenit inter Aimericum, sancti Joannis Ingeriacensis abbatem eiusque congregationem, et inter monachos sanctae Mariae necnon et sancti Andreae atque almi Xpistophori Benedicti Quinciensis, ut inter se terras suas commutare (debuissent). Et, omnimodo, manifestum est fecisse, scilicet per consensum et voluntatem domni Ysemberti, episcopi, qui hinc nominatam abbatiam regebat.”

³³ Daniel Callahan, *Benedictine Monasticism in Aquitaine, 935–1030* (Ph.D. diss, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 49.

³⁴ *Saint-Jean* 252 (1:307–8).

cases of episcopal control of religious houses: there has been speculation, for example, about the means by which Bishop Grimoard of Angoulême came to possess the monastery of Brantôme, but the sources are silent on the issue.³⁵ In other instances we are given more clues. Religious houses could come into the control of bishops for political reasons, as when Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers was given control of the collegiate house of Saint-Hilaire by King Odo of France as part of an attempt by the Robertians and their allies to influence power relations in Poitou.³⁶ Bishops also wielded influence at religious houses as part of a family policy: it was in this context that Bishops Hildegard, Hilduin, and Gerald of Limoges took advantage of the resources of the monastery of Saint-Martial and appointed abbots for the house.³⁷ Further, the foundation or restoration of a house could serve as the basis of a longer relationship between the house and the bishop; Ebles's restoration of Saint-Maixent may have lain behind his abbacy there. In another example, Arnald of Périgueux founded Saint-Pierre de Cellefrouin, a house of canons in the diocese of Angoulême, and he ruled the community.³⁸

In some cases, the behavior of bishops was not beneficial to the house they controlled, as in the case of Grimoard of Angoulême and Saint-Cybard. Grimoard bought the monastery from Count William IV Taillefer and turned its lands and assets over to his lay followers to ensure their loyalty.³⁹ This was not always true, however, as bishops and sees also took or were given control of houses for the purpose of reform or protection. For example, in the late summer of 958, a man named Droctricus issued a charter concerning his foundation of the collegiate church of Saint-Austrille.⁴⁰ Droctricus began by relating how he had

³⁵ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (pp. 158–59) recounts Grimoard's struggle with Viscount Guy of Limoges over possession of the monastery. Joseph Mallat ("Étude historique sur Grimoard de Mucidan," p. 359) and the *Gallia Christiana* (2:1491) asserted that Grimoard was the abbot of Brantôme, but there is no mention of this in the sources.

³⁶ *Saint-Hilaire* 12 (p. 16).

³⁷ See above, chapter 3, pp. 78–80.

³⁸ On Arnald's foundation of Cellefrouin, see J.-Fl. Chevalier, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Cellefrouin, XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Ruffec, 1936), no. 28 (pp. 31–32). This charter is a gift by Itier of Villebois, a descendant of Bishop Arnald, of land that Arnald had originally given and that had been confirmed by his descendants since. Chevalier takes up the question of whether the Bishop Arnald in question was indeed Arnald of Vitabre, bishop of Périgueux—he concludes that it was. For this discussion, see his notes, pp. 124–31. For a charter from Arnald's lifetime that refers to his rule, see Chevalier, ed., no. 2 (pp. 2–3).

³⁹ For Grimoard and Saint-Cybard, see Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (pp. 158–59) and the *Historia pontificum*, c. 23, pp. 15–16.

⁴⁰ *Saint-Étienne* 8 (pp. 25–27).

built the church on his lands near Limoges and endowed it from his own holdings in the presence of many witnesses, including Count Boso of the March. The church also received grants from other donors.⁴¹ He then stated that he was giving the church, with all its possessions, to Bishop Ebles and the future bishops of Limoges:

We turned over and we offered for consecration [the church and its assets] through the hand of the venerable lord Ebles, bishop in the name of the saint and proto-martyr Stephen, to the lordship and power of all the bishops of this holy see and mother church of Limoges, for the canons and ministers ordained and found there under canonical rules in future times... for ruling and governing, just as other monasteries are known to be of his right and protection, that is Eymoutiers and Évaux.⁴²

Droctricus thus placed Saint-Austrille under the governance of the bishops, as had been done for the two other houses of canons, Eymoutiers and Évaux. He did so for the protection of the house, enjoining the bishops to remember the dire consequences that would befall them if they neglected their duty:

So that the above-mentioned bishop, and whoever are his successors in the bishopric, are always mindful of their obligation and power, or rather of their damnation and ruin, if that which was given and consecrated most devotedly to God in the presence of him and other noble persons should be encroached upon or become deteriorated due to his carelessness or negligence.⁴³

⁴¹ On the foundation of this church, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 149. *Saint-Étienne* 7 (pp. 24–25) is a charter recording the sale of land by Viscount Archambald of Comborn and his wife, Rotild, to Droctricus for the benefit of the church; it is also found in Robert de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, instrumenta no. 15 (p. 122).

⁴² *Saint-Étienne* 8 (p. 26): “per manus venerabilis domni Eubalonis ad nomen sancti et prothomartiris Stephani dominio et potestate cunctorum episcoporum ipsius sanctae sedis et matris ecclesie Lemovicensis per succedentia tempora sub canonica institutione ordinatis et constructis inibi canonicis et ministris, prout sumptus prefati coenobii expectierit, qui ibi cuncto tempore Deo dignas persolvant canonicae institutionis laudes, ad regendum et moderandum uti et alia sui juris et procurationis videntur esse monasteria, Agentum scilicet et Avuntium, tradimus atque sacrando obtulimus...” For the house of Eymoutiers, see Jean Becquet, “Collégiales et sanctuaires de chanoines séculiers en Limousin aux X^e–XII^e siècles,” *BSAHL* 103 (1976), 75–106 at pp. 90–93 and J. Dubois, ed., “Documents historiques sur Eymoutiers,” *BSAHL* 36 (1889), 377–447. For Évaux, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 148–49. At one point in his analysis of this charter, Michel Aubrun interpreted this passage to mean that Droctricus gave the new church to Ebles so that it would be placed under the jurisdiction of the canons of Eymoutiers and Évaux (p. 149). At another point, however, he stated that the church was given to the bishops alone (p. 142). I agree with the latter interpretation.

⁴³ *Saint-Étienne* 8 (p. 26): “ante omnia obtestantes atque deprecantes et per comunem omnium iudicem Dominum conjurantes, ut tam predictus presul quam et quique in

Droctricus acknowledged that the main threat to his new church would probably come from his own family, and so he enjoined future generations to give up their rights to the church in favor of the bishop, with the exception of two successors that he named. If, however, either of these heirs wanted to give up their rights during their lifetimes, they were encouraged to do so. Droctricus followed this injunction with a final plea to the bishops not to allow the church to fall into lay control.

Droctricus placed the responsibility for the well-being of the community on the shoulders of the bishops. They were expected to ensure the protection of the church and its assets from threats such as lay encroachment. Ebles and the see likely gained some advantage from their new position, but the expressed purpose of the donor was to ensure that the church would flourish free from harassment or lay control. The bishops were probably also expected to oversee the religious life of the canons at Saint-Austrille, because the bishop was the spiritual leader of communities of canons in his diocese.⁴⁴ Indeed, it could be argued that placing a house of canons under the protection of the diocesan bishop was a redundant act, since they fell under the bishop's rule in any case. Droctricus's emphasis on the acquisition of special episcopal protection for his house and his mention of two specific examples that his house should emulate, however, suggests otherwise. Bishops were not necessarily deeply involved at houses of canons in their diocese, as illustrated by the case of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, where the local bishops had little influence, despite the fact that it lay within the walls of their own city.⁴⁵

It is striking that Droctricus placed Saint-Austrille in the care of the see of Limoges, rather than in the control of one particular bishop. This distinction is important. We have seen several examples of the latter situation, in which one bishop exercised control over a religious house in the context of family policy, political aims, or other considerations. These were arrangements between an individual or a family and a house. In the cases in which a house was placed under the supervision of a bishop and his successors, on the other hand, we see the definition or

presulatu successores sui, semper sint juris et potestatis, immo suae dampnationis et perditionis memores, si sua scilicet neglegentia aut incuria imminutum aut deterioratum fuerit, quod tam devotissime Deo fuerit in sui et tam nobilium personarum presentia oblatum et consecratum..."

⁴⁴ Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 152.

⁴⁵ The dukes and their family (including Ebles of Limoges) were the primary influence at Saint-Hilaire: see discussion above, chapter 3, pp. 83–84.

redefinition of the relationship between two institutions—the house and the see—although it would be unwise to assume that family or other factors played no role in such arrangements.

Another case from the diocese of Limoges illustrates just such a redefinition. In 977, Bishop Hildegard issued a privilege for the monastery of Uzerche, reclaiming the house from lay control in order to make it independent.⁴⁶ As I discussed in the previous chapter, Hildegard's actions at Uzerche must be understood in the context of the extensive involvement of his relatives—the viscomital family of Limoges—at the house. On the other hand, Hildegard's privilege reveals that he was also responding to the tradition of episcopal and lay domination of Uzerche:

We formerly transformed a church of our diocese, by name of Uzerche, which previously was transferred from the care of the bishop of Limoges into lay obedience. We converted this church to the observance of a monastic house, so that through succeeding times the monastic order and observance of religion would be held, kept, and observed there under the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, in such a way that henceforth none of our successor bishops, or any layman, should have the right to alienate [the monastery] from the power of Saint Peter and the monastic order.⁴⁷

Hildegard's statement that Uzerche had been in the care of the bishop of Limoges was presumably a reference to the seizure of the monastery in the early tenth century by Bishop Turpio, which is recounted in the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*.⁴⁸ According to the author of this text, Turpio's reign had been bleak for Uzerche, and by the end of his episcopate the monastery had fallen into a dire condition. Turpio's successor, Ebles, gave permission to a zealous layman, Radulf, to attempt

⁴⁶ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37); *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65).

⁴⁷ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (p. 35): “transfundimus quamdam ecclesiam nostrae dioeceseos [sic], nomine Usercham, quae olim fuerat a pontificis Lemovicensis cura in laicali obsequio transmutata. Eam igitur ecclesiam in coenobii monachalis religionem transvertimus, quatenus per succedentia tempora monasticus ordo et religionis observantia sub regula sancti Benedicti ibi habeatur, teneatur et custodiatur, et eo tenore, ut deinceps nullus episcoporum successor noster qui fuerit, aut ullus laicus, licentiam habeat alienandi a potestate Sancti Petri et ab ordine monastico.” The next sentence of the charter varies in the two surviving versions; Becquet presents the variation in his notes. The meaning of the two remains similar, however: Hildegard stated that he reconfirmed the document that had been given to Uzerche by his predecessor, Bishop Ebles, in order to confirm the gift of Viscount Ademar and his wife Melisende.

⁴⁸ On Turpio's hostility, see the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 14–20. For further discussion of Turpio's actions, see below, pp. 138–39.

a reform of the house, and another layman, Arbert, took up this effort after Radulf's death.⁴⁹ Uzerche therefore moved from the hands of a hostile bishop to those of beneficent laymen. Despite the fact that the period of lay control had been salubrious for Uzerche, Hildegard stated explicitly in his privilege that he had taken control of the monastery to remove it from lay hands and establish the monastic life there. He did not intend to retain complete control of the house for himself or for the episcopate, however. Rather, having established the Benedictine Rule at Uzerche, he warned future bishops and laymen not to interfere with that observance. He added that the monks had the right to elect their own abbots, although he emphasized that the Rule included a role for the bishop in that process:

We ask and we call on...all our successor bishops, so that they do not weaken this privilege of our alms at all... We add this and we swear and we enjoin under threat of excommunication, so that no one, neither bishop nor layman, has the right to sell or give anything [belonging to the monastery] to either a cleric or a layman or even to a monk of another place, but it is permitted to the monks of this place that, with their abbot having died, they elect a member of the regular clergy, with our advice and will, for as long as we live, or that of our successors.⁵⁰

Hildegard attempted to regulate the actions of future bishops, warning them (and others) not to lay hands on the monastery or impinge on its rights. In light of the turbulent history between the monastery and the see, Hildegard sought to redefine the bishops' role at Uzerche. Further aspects of Hildegard's activity are revealed in the coda to a gift made to Uzerche by Viscount Archambald I of Comborn in December 992:

At the end of this charter it is related that Bishop Hildegard, with the advice of the canons of Limoges, and of the barons living around the monastery,

⁴⁹ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 16–17.

⁵⁰ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (p. 36): "His itaque oblati, petimus et advocamus per adjumentum domini nostri Jesu Christi...omnes pontifices successores nostros, ut hoc nostrae elemosinae privilegium minime infringant, sed sicut sua a successoribus suis voluerint statuta servari, sic et decreta nostra in perpetuum studeant confirmare et conservare. Illud quoque addimus et adjuramus et excommunicamus, ut nullus unquam neque pontifex, neque laicus licentiam habeat vendere, aut dare alicui, sive clerico sive laico seu etiam monacho alterius loci, sed liceat eisdem monachis ipsius loci defuncto abbate suo, regularem eligere personam cum consilio et voluntate sive nostra quandiu vixerimus, sive successorum nostrorum." On the bishop's prescribed role in abbatial elections in the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, see: *La règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. and trans. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, 7 volumes, Sources chrétiennes 181–186 (Paris, 1971–1977), c. 64, 2:648–53.

established that the above-mentioned monastery and its appurtenances should not be placed under interdict or excommunicated unless in a synod of the see of Limoges, and in other matters, the abbot of Uzerche should conduct himself toward the bishop of Limoges just as the abbot of Saint-Martial [does], [and the abbot] is not to be subjected in any way to any monastery, but only legitimately ordained by the Roman pope.⁵¹

This clause suggests that the monasteries of Uzerche and Saint-Martial shared a special independence from the bishops of Limoges. It does not define all the aspects of this exemption, but it does tell us that these houses could only be placed under interdict by a council and could not be subjected to another monastery, but only to the pope. It is possible that Uzerche had special papal protection in this period, perhaps stemming from the trip made to Rome by Radulf, the reform-minded layman, on the monastery's behalf.⁵² Whatever the case, it is clear that Hildegard did not intend merely to substitute episcopal control for lay rule at Uzerche. Although the bishop would have a continuing role in the election of abbots and as protector of the house, that involvement was explicitly limited. This passage curtailed the power of individual bishops to excommunicate the house, stating that only a council could pronounce this sentence. Certain powers of the bishops over monasteries are acknowledged, but even further authority is attributed to bishops in council and to the pope.

While all bishops, according to canon law, held some authority over religious houses in their dioceses by virtue of their office, their actual involvement at any given house depended on a variety of factors, including political considerations, familial influence, and a desire to restore or reform. It was not usual for bishops who controlled monasteries to use the title of abbot, and when they did, it seems to have arisen from special circumstances or to have been temporary. It is important to note that despite the opinion of certain contemporary reformers, episcopal control of religious houses was not always permanent, nor

⁵¹ *Uzerche* 40 (pp. 73–75): “Sub finem istius chartae narratur quod Hildegarius episcopus, cum consilio canonicorum Lemovicensium ac baronum circa monasterium consistentium, constituit ut dictum monasterium et membra ipsius non interdicerentur nec excommunicarentur nisi in synodo sedis Lemovicensis, et in caeteris actibus ageret se abbas Usercensis erga episcopum Lemovicensem sicut abbas Sancti Martialis, nec ullo modo ulli monasterio subjiceretur, sed tantum papae romano legitime ordinato.”

⁵² It is clear that by the end of the eleventh century, Uzerche had a special relationship with the papacy that brought it into conflict with the bishops of Limoges: Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), pp. 253–54.

always resented by the community, nor always exploitative in nature, although such cases did exist. The complexity and fluidity of these relations is aptly illustrated by cases such as Ebles of Limoges's authority at Saint-Maixent, which began with restoration and family policy, ended with a major donation, and included an abbacy whose responsibilities and dates are difficult to define. Similarly intricate was Hildegard of Limoges's involvement at Uzerche. Already inclined to be active at the monastery because of family interests there, Hildegard removed Uzerche from the hands of laymen (who had, incidentally, been generous) for the purpose of reforming the monastery and changing the previously hostile relationship between the see and the house. This redefinition included a limitation of the rights of bishops over the house: Hildegard took control, paradoxically, in order to limit future control.⁵³ Thus Hildegard's activity at Uzerche must be understood in terms of the broader relationship between the see of Limoges and a monastery within the diocese. Hildegard's and Ebles's actions also illustrate the fact that ascribing a strictly proprietary motive to a bishop, even if his family had a significant relationship with the house, rarely captures the full complexity of the bishop's reasons for acting at such a community.

The Episcopal Monastery of Saint-Cyprien

A particularly well-documented example of the evolution of relations between a see and a house is that of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien and the bishops of Poitiers. For about a century of our period, the bishops of Poitiers were the most prominent outside influence at Saint-Cyprien, and it seems appropriate to characterize the house as an episcopal monastery. This observation does not arise from any explicit statement in the texts, but rather from an accumulation of evidence. Bishop Frotier II rebuilt the monastery of Saint-Cyprien in the mid-930s and endowed it with lands drawn both from his own holdings and the cathedral estates.⁵⁴ He called upon the archbishop of Tours to consecrate the

⁵³ Hildegard's brother and successor as bishop, Hilduin, would continue this trend by giving to the monks certain rights in a church that had previously belonged to the see. Hilduin reserved for the bishops the authority to supervise Uzerche's use of these rights—were they given away unjustly, for example, the bishops could remove them from the monastery's control: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 12 (pp. 38–40); *Uzerche* 444 (pp. 251–52).

⁵⁴ Frotier's activities are recorded in *Saint-Cyprien* 3 (pp. 4–5), 4 (pp. 5–7), 118 (p. 87), 183 (p. 117), and 232 (pp. 150–51). Charters of later bishops also refer to

rebuilt monastery and even confected a false papal privilege to protect the new foundation.⁵⁵ From this point on, the bishops of Poitiers and the house enjoyed a particularly close relationship, and both the bishops and monks would put the actions of later bishops at Saint-Cyprien in the context of Frotier's reconstruction.

Frotier II's successor, Bishop Alboin, confirmed and expanded upon a gift of a church made to Saint-Cyprien by one of his cathedral canons in a long document issued soon after Frotier's death.⁵⁶ In this charter, Alboin invoked the reconstruction of the house by his predecessor. He described his devotion to Saint-Cyprien, the house that,

Frotier, my predecessor as bishop of the holy church of Poitiers, built in a wonderful work, and where he established a group of monks, and he enriched [the assets] belonging to that abbey from the estates of Saint Peter, as much as from his own inheritance.⁵⁷

Alboin went on to confirm the canon's donation and the relationship between the new church, dedicated to the Resurrection, and Saint-Cyprien. He also took steps to ensure the future survival of this donation, granting the tithes of the Resurrection's land to Saint-Cyprien in consultation with the canons of the cathedral and the nobles of Poitiers. Alboin referred to Bishop Frotier again toward the end of the document, when he discussed his desire to establish monastic prayer for his own

the work of Frotier, particularly the charters of Frotier's successor Alboin, who, as treasurer of Saint-Hilaire, had been present at the consecration of Bishop Frotier's restored monastery.

⁵⁵ The consecration of the monastery by Tételon of Tours is recorded in *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7). The forged papal privilege opens the cartulary: *Saint-Cyprien* 1 (pp. 1–2). A critical edition and commentary on the papal privilege are found in Zimmermann 63 (pp. 105–6), who dates it to 931–935. Given that Frotier's restoration of Saint-Cyprien took place after his return to the bishopric, which occurred after the death of Count Ebles Manzer sometime in 934, we can probably narrow the date of this document to 934–935. On Frotier's conflict with Ebles Manzer and his return to the episcopate, see above, chapter 3, pp. 68–70.

⁵⁶ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 58–61). The canon who made the gift was also named Frotier. The charter states that Canon Frotier appeared before Alboin on 12 November 937, but that the document was not issued until the month of April. The editor therefore tentatively dates the charter to the April following Canon Frotier's request, that is, April 938.

⁵⁷ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 58): "Quamobrem ego Alboinus, Pictavensium urbis episcopus, cum plerisque notum esse cernitur benivolum me ad monasterio aliquo nuncupante Sancto Cypriano, ubi ipse gloriosus corpore quiescit, et est in prospectu Pictavis civitatis super alveum Clinii, quem venerabilis vir Frotherius nomine et presul sancte Pictavensis ecclesiae, antecessor meus, olim mirifico opere construxit, ibique monachorum agmina instituit, et de rebus Sancti Petri ad ipsam abbatiam pertinentem, quam etiam de sua propria ditavit hereditate."

soul and that of his predecessor and commanded that three monks be established at Saint-Cyprien to pray to God daily for them both.⁵⁸

Alboin not only linked himself to Frotier's actions, but also (as Frotier had done in his restoration charter) warned his successors against taking any steps to undo what he had done. Alboin wrote,

I also implore with a humble prayer the holy bishops, our successors, and I presume to swear this by the inseparable Trinity and by the Holy Resurrection and by the rewards of the saints, and I bind [myself and my successors] in the presence of God and His majesty, that this our deed concerning this union will never be ruptured or divided by you or any financial agent of the church of Poitiers through any method or cunning, but always joined as one to the monastery, and under one abbot of the established rule, with you defending and preserving...⁵⁹

Alboin did not want future bishops to threaten prayer for his own soul, and further he ordered that the monks specially established at Saint-Cyprien would be "able to live in peace for all time without any debate and jointly to plea with the Lord for indulgence for us."⁶⁰ It also seems that Alboin was attempting to establish the bishops of Poitiers as the protectors of Saint-Cyprien for all time. Thus, by linking the past, in the form of Frotier's restoration, to his own actions in the present, and then in turn calling on future bishops to be responsible for the house and for his own soul, Alboin tied the bishops and the monastery together far beyond his own lifetime.

Alboin appeared several more times at Saint-Cyprien during his reign. The monks twice brought disputes before him. In one instance, as Abbot Aimo of Saint-Cyprien pleaded his case before the bishop, he reminded Alboin and the others present that the disputed land had been given by Frotier II during his restoration of the monastery. Aimo thus invoked the bishop's duty, in the tradition of Frotier, to defend

⁵⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 60).

⁵⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 60): "Illud quoque sanctis presulibus successoribus nostris humili prece posco, hac per Trinitatem inseparabilem vel per sanctam Resurrectionem vel et remunerationes sanctorum conjurare presumo, hac coram Deo et eius majestate ligo, ut numquam a vobis vel a procuratoribus ecclesiae Pictavense hec facta nostra de hac conjunctione per nullo quolibet modo vel calliditate inrumpatur vel se partiat, sed semper in unum conjuncti monasterio et sub uno abbate regiminis constituti, vobis defensantibus hac conservantibus..."

⁶⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 60): "sine aliqua disceptatione perennis temporibus quieti valeant residere et pro nobis communiter Dominum deprecare."

the land of the house.⁶¹ Alboin also gave one of his own allods to the monastery, confirmed and added to a gift of Archdeacon Richard, and cooperated with the abbot of Charroux to give land to Saint-Cyprien.⁶² At a time when the bishops of Poitiers were not active at certain houses in the diocese, such as Saint-Maixent and Saint-Hilaire, we find Alboin frequently and deeply involved at Saint-Cyprien.

This trend of episcopal attachment to the monastery would continue. Bishop Gilbert, who most frequently appeared in charters as part of the ducal entourage, acted more independently at Saint-Cyprien. Of the thirteen charters that Gilbert signed while not in the presence of the duke or the ducal family, eleven concerned Saint-Cyprien.⁶³ In addition, Gilbert approached Duke William the Great and persuaded him to issue a charter protecting the entire suburb of Saint-Cyprien from any exactions. The charter placed Gilbert's behavior in the context of the tradition begun by Frotier II; at one point the document even switched from the duke's voice to Gilbert's:

Let this place, put in the power of the abbots and monks living in that same monastery, be protected, just as it was arranged by our predecessor bishops, namely by lord Bishop Frotier, and by his successors; let it remain free and undisturbed without the impediment of anyone for all time.⁶⁴

Gilbert's nephew and successor, Isembert I, also appeared several times at Saint-Cyprien. He signed seven charters at the monastery, five with the duke and two without—these are the only two documents

⁶¹ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19). The other judgment is *Saint-Cyprien* 423 (pp. 268–69).

⁶² Alboin's gift is *Saint-Cyprien* 231 (p. 150); Richard's gift is no. 233 (pp. 151–52). The gift of Alboin and the abbot of Charroux is no. 553 (pp. 326–27); the charter describes the gift and then states that it was made because of the attacks of the Vikings ("propter infestationem Normannorum"). Many scholars have assumed that Frotier's restoration responded to destruction by the Vikings; while this is likely, no medieval documents draw such a clear link, and it is possible that Alboin is referring to a later incursion here—Vikings continued to attack in Aquitaine into the eleventh century. See Trumbore Jones, "Pitying the Desolation," p. 100. On later Viking attacks, see Judith Jesch, "Vikings on the European Continent in the Late Viking Age," in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 255–68 at pp. 263–65.

⁶³ *Saint-Cyprien* 73 (p. 64), 103 (pp. 80–81), 163 (p. 108), 261 (p. 169), 316 (pp. 197–98), 364 (p. 225), 365 (pp. 225–26), 368 (p. 227), 384 (pp. 236–37), 425 (p. 269), 427 (p. 270).

⁶⁴ *Saint-Cyprien* 17 (p. 22): "sed tutus sit locus in potestate abbatis et monachorum in eodem monasterio habitantium positus, sicut ab antecessoribus nostris episcopis, domno videlicet Frotherio episcopo atque eius successoribus, est constitutus; absque ullius impedimento maneat liber et quietus omnibus diebus."

that I know of in which Isembert appeared as a witness outside the duke's company.⁶⁵ Isembert acted as a judge for one case brought by the monks and consented to two other documents pertaining to the monastery.⁶⁶ Most significantly, it was to Saint-Cyprien that Isembert handed over control of the church at Chauvigny, which he built on his own lands.⁶⁷

The bishops of Poitiers thus acted at Saint-Cyprien more frequently and with more independence than at other houses. Their special interest in Saint-Cyprien was in part due to the tradition of episcopal protection dating back to Frotier's restoration. There was also a familial aspect to the involvement of Bishops Gilbert and Isembert I: several members of the their family were buried at Saint-Cyprien and gave gifts to the monastery.⁶⁸ It must be emphasized, however, that Frotier II and Alboin were not members of this family, and therefore the attachment of the see to Saint-Cyprien goes beyond a family relationship of the sort we saw between the viscounts of Limoges and Uzerche, or the counts of Poitou and Saint-Hilaire. Saint-Cyprien could thus be described as an episcopal monastery—a house whose connections with the see went beyond the normal oversight of a diocesan bishop.

We also have some evidence of what the monks thought of this situation. The monks of Saint-Cyprien brought three disputes before the episcopal courts, the largest number for any community in the diocese.⁶⁹ Even more interesting are comments that were added to the beginning of two charters, presumably when they were copied into

⁶⁵ With the duke: *Saint-Cyprien* 167 (p. 110), 271 (pp. 174–75), 489 (pp. 297–98), 493 (p. 299), 539 (pp. 321–22). Without the duke: *Saint-Cyprien* 207 (p. 135), 433 (pp. 273–74).

⁶⁶ Isembert's judgment is *Saint-Cyprien* 438 (pp. 275–76); he also endorsed a treaty between the abbot of Saint-Cyprien and two brothers in no. 185 (pp. 119–20); he consented to a donation to the church of Chauvigny (and thus to Saint-Cyprien) in no. 211 (p. 138).

⁶⁷ *Saint-Cyprien* 210–12 (pp. 136–39).

⁶⁸ Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," p. 433. Bishop Isembert II recounted that his parents and other relatives were buried at the monastery in *Saint-Cyprien* 191 (pp. 125–26). For gifts by this family to Saint-Cyprien in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see, for example, *Saint-Cyprien* 126 (p. 90), 130 (pp. 91–92), 201 (pp. 131–32), 202 (pp. 132–33), 206 (p. 135), 217 (p. 141), 228 (p. 148), 341 (p. 210). See below (n. 75) for the end of the relationship between the monastery and the family. See also Duguët, "La famille des Isembert," pp. 167–71.

⁶⁹ This could, however, simply be a function of the surviving sources: over 320 charters survive in the cartulary of Saint-Cyprien for this period, as opposed to roughly ninety for Nouaillé and Saint-Maixent and seventy for Saint-Hilaire.

the monastery's cartulary by its compilers.⁷⁰ These comments seem not to have been part of the original documents, and they serve to introduce the original texts in the context of the cartulary and to direct the reader to other documents concerning the same estate.⁷¹

The two cartulary comments in question here precede charters concerning estates originally donated by Frotier. For example, the opening of Bishop Alboin's judgment concerning the church of Saint-Maixent le Petit reads:

It was shown above how lord Bishop Frotier gave the church of Saint-Maixent and many things that belonged to that villa to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien; now we wish to make known those things that afterwards were given and done in that villa.⁷²

A charter of Bishop Isembert II concerning Lurai is preceded by a similar comment:

It was shown above how the lord Bishop Frotier gave to the monastery that he founded a villa called Lurai and the church and all that belonged to it; now we wish to show what was done thereafter concerning that villa and what was added to that place.⁷³

Thus it seems that the cartulary compiler was willing to link the actions of later bishops to those of Frotier, and that he wished to emphasize the long-term relationship between the bishops and the monastery

⁷⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19, dated 938–949) and 191 (pp. 124–26; dated 1047–1086). For a description of the cartulary, see *Saint-Cyprien*, introduction, xi–xiii. The cartulary of Saint-Cyprien is found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 10122. These comments are not written in a separate ink or hand from the body of the charter they precede.

⁷¹ Due to the geographical organization of the cartulary, most comments refer to documents copied in the surrounding pages, although this is not true in the case of Frotier II's gift of the estate of Lurai, which was only mentioned in the confirmation document of Téotelon of Tours (*Saint-Cyprien* 4 [pp. 5–7]) at the opening of the cartulary. The comment that preceded the charter of Isembert II (*Saint-Cyprien* 191) concerning Lurai thus served to remind the reader of that estate's presence in a document elsewhere in the cartulary.

⁷² *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (p. 118): "Jam superius ostensum est qualiter domnus Froterius episcopus ecclesiam Sancti Maxentii et multa quae ad ipsam villam pertinebant donavit monasterio Sancti Cipriani; nunc innotescere cupimus quae postmodum in illa villa donata vel gesta sunt." This is in reference to the preceding charter (*Saint-Cyprien* 183 [p. 117]), which recorded Frotier's donation of Saint-Maixent.

⁷³ *Saint-Cyprien* 191 (p. 124): "Jam superius ostensum est qualiter domnus Frotherius episcopus donavit monasterio a se fundato villam quae vocatur Luriacus et ecclesiam et omnia que se pertinebant, nunc ostendere cupimus quae postmodum de illa gesta sunt vel in illa huic loco addita."

through his remarks. It must be noted that the texts of both charters make this connection as well, but it seems that when the cartulary was composed, the monks were not disposed to deny the long history of interactions that existed between them and their bishop.⁷⁴ Had the cartulary compiler not wished to draw attention to the involvement of the bishops in various gifts—had there been feeling in the monastery that the bishops' involvement was excessive or inappropriate—he could have avoided referring to them in his comments and even eliminated the references from the originals.⁷⁵

The documents of Saint-Cyprien suggest that bishops in this period were part of more than one kind of lineage. We are accustomed to understanding bishops as members of kin groups, attentive to the advancement of the interests of their relations. Bishops also saw themselves as part of the lineage of their diocese, a tradition of men who had developed associations with particular communities or groups. A given bishop might uphold those traditions or change them—as Hildegard did at Uzerche—but he was aware of them and in conversation with them.

Bishops as Judges

Bishops were involved in judgments concerning religious houses in numerous capacities. If a house was abused by a layperson, a bishop might pursue the enforcement of appropriate punishment. An illustrative example is the role played by Bishop Jordan of Limoges in obtaining restitution for a crime committed against the canons of Lesterps by Aldebert, the heir to the county of the March. According to a charter issued decades later by Aldebert's daughter, Almodis, the count had set fire to the church of Lesterps, killing 1700 people, probably in the course of a private war. Pope Benedict IX excommunicated those who set the fire, and no bishop or archbishop was allowed to absolve the

⁷⁴ According to the editor, the cartulary was composed in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries; the hand that wrote the documents in question here appears to my eye to be from the late eleventh century. It is not surprising that the monks would be positively disposed toward the bishops in this period, as the abbot of Saint-Cyprien had helped to achieve the election of Bishop Peter II (1087–1115): *Saint-Cyprien* 201 (pp. 131–32).

⁷⁵ For a shift in the relationship between Saint-Cyprien and the Isembert family (if not the episcopate) after our period, see the charter and note on f. 47 of the manuscript, printed as *Saint-Cyprien* 201 (pp. 131–32 and p. 131 n. 1).

guilty until they had made restitution to the satisfaction of Jordan of Limoges and the abbot of Lesterps.⁷⁶ The prescribed punishment called for Aldebert to give all his serfs and various servants and freed men and women, who lived around Lesterps, to the surviving canons and their successors. These people, freed of all their obligations to Aldebert and his descendants, were meant to serve Lesterps for all time, to complete the restoration of the cloister, and to work for the redemption of Aldebert's soul. Jordan thus supervised the fulfillment of a sentence handed down by the pope.⁷⁷

When bishops were called to make judgments concerning religious houses themselves, they did so both individually, in the local context of their courts or diocesan synods, and in cooperation with other bishops on the wider stage of regional councils.⁷⁸ The surviving documents from

⁷⁶ G. Babinet de Rencogne estimates that the fire took place around 1040. Aldebert was count of the March by 1047: *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 124–25. Aldebert was also count of Périgord: see above, p. 89 and Settiani, *La noblesse du Midi carolingien*, p. 180. For the 1098 charter of Almodis, see: Babinet de Rencogne, ed., "Charte d'Almodis, comtesse de la Marche," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 3rd series, 4 (1864), 409–14. We do not have the text of Benedict IX's decision concerning Aldebert's crime, only the reference in Almodis's charter; see Jean Becquet, "Le bullaire du Limousin," no. 9, p. 117. On Lesterps, see Jean Becquet, "Les chanoines réguliers de Lesterps, Bénévent et Aureil en Limousin aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *BSAHL* 99 (1972), 80–135, esp. pp. 107–113, 117–122; idem, "Collégiales et sanctuaires," p. 80; idem, "Le mouvement canonial en Limousin aux X^e–XII^e siècles," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Année 1977* (Paris, 1979), pp. 33–43 at pp. 35–36; G. Babinet de Rencogne, ed., "Notice et dissertation sur un fragment du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Lesterps," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 3rd series, 4 (1864), 47–63.

⁷⁷ Bishops also judged individual laymen on issues of church doctrine. One such example survives from the reign of Anselm of Limoges, who judged the case of a man named Stephen, who had baptized his own infant son because the child was dying. As with the case of Lesterps, the pope became involved when Stephen appealed Anselm's decision to John VIII. John felt that Anselm's judgment (that Stephen be separated from his wife) was too harsh, and overturned it. John's letter is found in PL 126:839; see also JE 3258. John also addressed another letter to Anselm, in which he discussed trials and the value of witnesses: Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, 3 volumes (Graz, 1958), no. 74 (2:37). This act, however, is not listed in Jaffé and is suspected of being false.

⁷⁸ For recent work concerning bishops as judges, see selections from the following recent volumes: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII)*, 7–13 aprile 1994, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 42 (Spoleto, 1995), especially Wilfried Hartmann, "Der Bischof als Richter nach den kirchenrechtlichen Quellen des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts," pp. 805–42; *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX–XI)*, 11–17 aprile 1996, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 44 (Spoleto, 1997), especially Hartmann, "Probleme des geistlichen Gerichts im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Bischöfe und Synoden als Richter im ostränkisch-deutschen Reich," pp. 631–74. See also Hartmann, "L'évêque comme juge: La pratique du tribunal

Aquitaine describe four cases of the former type from this period. In May of 943, Bishop Alboin of Poitiers held a diocesan synod in his cathedral of Saint-Pierre, hearing cases and making decisions with both the aid of written authorities and the advice of those present, including priests, canons, abbots, nobles, and more humble laymen.⁷⁹ In the course of this assembly, Abbot Aimo of Saint-Cyprien, who was attending with a party of monks from his monastery, voiced a complaint. He claimed that two priests from Béthines, which lay in the lands of the cathedral, were trying to seize tithes from a villa that belonged to the chapel of Saint-Maixent le Petit. The two priests, Dodo and Israel, in turn asserted their right to collect the disputed tithes. Bishop Alboin may have taken special interest in this matter because, as Abbot Aimo was careful to point out, the chapel and its estates had been given to Saint-Cyprien by Bishop Frotier II as part of his reconstruction of the monastery. Wishing to solve this problem, Alboin asked all those sitting in the council to help him determine the truth. Abbot Aimo held a trump card, however, as he was able to present to the assembly documents that described both the endowment of the chapel of Saint-Maixent by Bishop Ingeraldus of Poitiers in the Carolingian era and its investment with the tithes in question.⁸⁰ Alboin ruled in favor of Saint-Cyprien, and the priests shame-facedly admitted their error.

In 906, Bishop Frotier II heard a case brought by the monks of Nouaillé in a diocesan synod similar to that convened by Alboin: the bishop sat “with his canons and with priests of the countryside and others in his synodal meeting, for the purpose of hearing the cases of many and defining the right business of the church.”⁸¹ The document

épiscopal en France du X^e au XII^e siècle,” in *Hiérarchies et services au Moyen Âge*, ed. Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2001), pp. 71–92. For analysis of a Catalan bishop’s activities as judge, see Kosto, “Oliba, Peacemaker,” in *Actes del Congrés*, ed. Castanyer.

⁷⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19); dated by the editor to 938–949, possibly 943. This synod was most likely a diocesan synod, as no other bishops were mentioned. For the definition of different types of synods in this period and their function, see Isolde Schröder, *Die westfränkischen Synoden von 888 bis 987 und ihre Überlieferung*, MGH Hilfsmittel 3 (Munich, 1980), pp. 5–6; Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe*, pp. 31–32.

⁸⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19). Ingeraldus was bishop of Poitiers from ca. 860 to ca. 871: Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Regensburg, 1873; reprinted Graz, 1957), p. 601; see also *Gallia Christiana* 2:1158–59.

⁸¹ *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62): “Cum resideret venerabilis domnus Frotharius Pictave Sedis Episcopus, die martis quod evenit tertio Idus Maii, Pictavis civitate in ecclesia Sancti Petris senioris, canonicae cum suis canonicis, necnon et aliis seu et rurium

describing a second dispute judged by Alboin of Poitiers was, on the other hand, less specific about the venue, stating only that Abbot Aimo of Saint-Cyprien “made a clamor before the above-mentioned pontiff” concerning the loss of certain tithes.⁸² The final case, which was brought before Bishop Isembert I around the year 1025, took place in what the document refers to as the bishop’s *curtis*, a gathering that included eminent laymen. The term *curtis* suggests that it was not a diocesan synod but rather a different kind of court, held by Isembert in his capacity as a lord—although the presence of his metropolitan might call this into question.⁸³

The case heard by Isembert is the only one of the four surviving disputes in which the sole perpetrator of the crime against the monks was a layman, Maingaudus, who had removed an allod from the possession of Saint-Cyprien. In the other three documents, monks came to the bishop to complain of attempts by other clerics to seize their incomes or properties. In addition to the episode described above involving the priests Dodo and Israel, Bishop Alboin judged a case in which Abbo, a cleric, and his brother Ebbo, a layman, removed one half of the tithes belonging to the church of Batresse, which was owned by Saint-Cyprien.⁸⁴ The dispute heard by Bishop Frotier II saw a priest trying to claim for his parish the tithes on land held by another parish from the monastery of Nouaillé.⁸⁵

The synods took place in the cathedral church, with the bishop surrounded by both clerics and laymen. The description of Alboin’s synodal court ties his justice to that of the saint: “he took care that everyone received what was theirs in the hall of justice of the apostle Saint Peter,

presbyteris in suo synodali conventu ad multorum causas audiendas rectaque negocia ecclesiastica ibi definienda, adfuit ibi quidam sacerdos Petrus nomine ex cella Pranziaco.” The editor offers four possible dates for this charter, ranging from 906 to 934; Favreau (“Carolingiens et Robertiens,” in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot et Favreau, p. 188) argues that 906 is most likely.

⁸² *Saint-Cyprien* 423 (pp. 268–69). The editor dates this charter to 938/939.

⁸³ *Saint-Cyprien* 438 (pp. 275–76). For the term *curtis*, see J. F. Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft, and J. W. J. Burgers, eds., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2 volumes (Leiden, 2002), 1:388. Although this term is often used to designate baronial courts, it is not used for a comital court in the documents from these houses in this period (see below, nn. 94–95).

⁸⁴ *Saint-Cyprien* 423 (pp. 268–69). The charter describing the gift of the church of Batresse to the monastery a few years earlier is *Saint-Cyprien* 422 (p. 268), dated to 938/939.

⁸⁵ *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62).

of the great church of Poitiers.”⁸⁶ It is not clear, conversely, where Bishop Isembert’s *curtis* took place, although it also had many eminent men in attendance, including various lay magnates.⁸⁷ Those present at these judgments not only witnessed the proceedings, but also participated to a certain extent in the decision-making process. For example, when the priest Peter of Pranzac came before Frotier II to accuse another priest, Droctrannus of Exoudun, of seizing tithes from lands of Nouaillé long held by Peter’s church, Frotier made the decision while in the presence of priests who came from neighboring dioceses; it is possible that Frotier asked these priests to help settle the matter.⁸⁸ Alboin, as we saw above, not only consulted “the custom of the ancient holy fathers,” which presumably refers to written authorities, to help him decide a case brought by Abbot Aimo, but also asked those present to help him.⁸⁹ The bishops thus made their judgments by consulting appropriate witnesses, written authorities, and the opinions of their lay and clerical colleagues.

In each case, when the verdict was handed down, the culprits were described as accepting the bishop’s decision. After Bishop Isembert’s judgment, for example, the noble aggressor is said to have “acquiesced to and praised the decision.”⁹⁰ The priest Droctrannus was rather less ebullient, merely consenting to do as he was ordered.⁹¹ The appearance of compliance on the part of the accused might be a function of the fact that it was recorded in charters commissioned, written, or preserved by the victorious monks; certainly it is telling that despite the supposedly willing acquiescence of the offenders, provisions were made in two cases to prevent future challenges to the decision. Peter of Pranzac insisted that he receive a charter outlining the judgment that his church had won. This was not a surprising request, considering how effective documents could be in defending a claim, as we saw in the case brought before Alboin in 943 by Abbot Aimo of Saint-Cyprien. In that same case, the two offenders, Dodo and Israel, had a guaran-

⁸⁶ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (p. 118): “...procurabatur ut unusquisque reciperet quod suum proprium est in auditorio Sancti Petri apostoli majoris ecclesiae Pictavis.”

⁸⁷ *Saint-Cyprien* 438 (pp. 275–76).

⁸⁸ *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62). Gerd Tellenbach emphasizes, however, that while diocesan synods might include the participation of those present, the final decisions lay solely in the hands of the bishops: *The Church in Western Europe*, p. 31.

⁸⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19).

⁹⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 438 (pp. 275–76).

⁹¹ *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62).

tor present, perhaps in order to give added weight to their promise of future compliance.⁹²

It is noteworthy that all four of these appeals for episcopal intervention in disputes came from monks or clerics associated with Saint-Cyprien and Nouaillé, monasteries at which the bishops of Poitiers were regularly involved. In the case of Saint-Cyprien, the three incidents in which monks brought problems to the bishop seem to fit into the wider picture of the ongoing relationship between the bishops of Poitiers and the house, which began with Frotier II's restoration. The document regarding Alboin's decision in ca. 943 is particularly instructive on this point, given that both the cartulary compiler, in a short rubric, and Abbot Aimo, during his plea in the synod, linked Alboin's actions to those of his predecessor.⁹³ In that particular case, Aimo may also have come to the bishop because the two priests were from lands within the power of the cathedral church. There are no documents from Saint-Cyprien in this period that described disputes taken by the monks to other authorities, such as the court of the count/dukes.

Other Poitevin houses seem to have been more inclined to bring cases to the comital court. The charters of Nouaillé, for example, include two disputes brought before Count Ebles Manzer in the spring of 904; after these two incidents, however, the monks did not return to the comital court in this period.⁹⁴ Three documents survive concerning cases that the monastery of Saint-Maixent brought before the counts: one before Ebles Manzer; one before William Tow-Head, in which Saint-Maixent was represented by Bishop Ebles of Limoges; and one before William VI the Fat, in which the count reasserted the monastery's rights.⁹⁵ This fidelity to the comital court on the part of the monks of Saint-Maixent is not surprising given the count/dukes' involvement at Saint-Maixent in this period, although there are no equivalent documents from other houses similarly tied to the count, such as Saint-Hilaire.

The question of how monks and canons chose between the episcopal or the comital court in bringing their cases is intriguing. It does seem that Saint-Cyprien and Nouaillé (at least after 904) were more inclined

⁹² *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (p. 119).

⁹³ *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (p. 118).

⁹⁴ *Nouaillé* 31 (pp. 55–57), dated April 904; *Nouaillé* 32 (pp. 57–58), dated 14 May 904.

⁹⁵ *Saint-Maixent* 11 (pp. 23–24), dated 28 April 925; 20 (pp. 32–33), dated July 959; 91 (pp. 109–11), dated 10 December 1032.

to bring their cases before the bishops than were other houses, although the modest ration of surviving documents makes any such trends difficult to identify with any certainty. If this predilection was real, it may have stemmed from the close relationship between the bishops of Poitiers and these two houses. It is also possible that other factors—the identity of the malefactor, the nature of the crime, or a consideration of who might provide the most effective justice, for example—influenced the monks' choice. It is also striking that no documents survive describing diocesan synods or courts held by bishops in dioceses other than Poitiers. I am hesitant to ascribe too much significance to this, however, given that Poitiers has the richest surviving source base in Aquitaine in this period.

Bishops not only judged those who wronged religious houses, but also the houses themselves and the actions of their residents. They seem to have done this particularly when gathered together in a council, as there are no charters relating to the punishment or judgment of houses or abbots by individual bishops, while we do find such incidents among conciliar proceedings. This may have been because an individual bishop was not considered to have the authority to judge a house, or because a house would not have preserved documents that recorded its own legal defeats or rebukes. The best example of a large council sitting in judgment of religious houses is the council of Limoges in 1031, which also included the purported opinions of Bishop Jordan of Limoges on the proper means and occasions for bishops to intervene at monasteries.⁹⁶ After Jordan's speech, the council heard accounts of abuse at various houses. The assembled bishops undertook the reform of the monastery of Beaulieu and held a lengthy discussion on whether it was permitted for a monk to leave a lax monastery for a house of stricter observance. Finally, Jordan delivered an encomium in praise of monasteries, singling out certain houses in the Limousin for commendation, including Saint-Martial, Sainte-Valerie, Solignac, Uzerche, Saint-Martin, and Saint-Augustin.⁹⁷ He stated that such houses should generally be independent of episcopal interference, citing the authority of Pope Gregory the Great, who disapproved of bishops disturbing or excommunicating monasteries.⁹⁸ Jordan added, however, that in

⁹⁶ See above, n. 1.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of Jordan's speech and the conciliar debates, see Becquet, "Le concile de Limoges," pp. 44–46; the text is found in Mansi 19:539.

⁹⁸ Gregory the Great was commonly cited in arguments against episcopal involvement in monasteries. See nn. 5 and 8 above.

cases of misdeeds on the part of monasteries or their abbots, bishops were required to intervene. He cited a particular case that had recently aroused his concern:

Nevertheless, if the fault of pride or disobedience is found among the abbots, it is proper to pursue that according to the canons. I say this because of the abbot of the monastery of Uzerche, whom they say disparaged the teachings of the holy council in this year [council of Bourges, 1031]. Certain men told us that [the abbot] buried the excommunicated viscount of Aubusson, who was killed while pillaging, in this monastery; if this thing is true, my heart is saddened. Everyone knows that it was established in holy councils that if anyone is excommunicated by his or her bishop, and is killed or dies without reconciliation, he should not be buried in a Christian burial, unless the bishop gives absolution and permission, with satisfaction being made by [the culprit's] friends or relatives.⁹⁹

While expressing his admiration of monasteries and his general support of their independence, therefore, Jordan also asserted their obligation to obey both conciliar decrees and the declarations of bishops—in this case, sentences of excommunication. The zeal of the bishops in this case may well have been part of their effort at establishing the Peace of God in the region: if their excommunications of those who pillaged went unobserved, a key weapon in their arsenal would have been threatened.¹⁰⁰

In this particular case, however, it was revealed that the accusation against the abbot of Uzerche was unfounded. The abbot denied that he had buried the criminal and took the opportunity to assert the wider principle that monasteries must always obey the will of their bishops:

⁹⁹ Mansi 19:539; PL 142:1389–90: “Verumtamen si culpa superbiae vel inobedientiae in abbatibus inventa fuerit, eam canonice insequi oportet. Hoc dixi propter abbatem monasterii Usercensis, quem dicunt hoc anno instituta sancti concilii contempsisse. Quidam enim narraverunt nobis, quia excommunicatum vicecomitem Albuciensem interfectum in praeda ipse apud suum monasterium sepelierit: super qua re, si vera est, cor meum contristatur. Omnes enim noverunt in sanctis conciliis sic institutum, ut si quis ab episcopo suo excommunicatus, interfectus, aut obitu proprio mortuus absque reconciliatione fuerit, nullatenus Christianorum sepultura sepeliatur, nisi episcopus, satisfaciens pro eo amicis vel parentibus, absolutionem et licentiam ex hoc concesserit.” On the case of the abbot of Uzerche, see Becquet, “Le concile de Limoges,” pp. 46–48.

¹⁰⁰ On the use and effectiveness of the threat of excommunication in charters from southern France and Catalonia, see Jeffrey A. Bowman, “Do Neo-Romans Curse? Law, Land, and Ritual in the Midi (900–1100),” *Viator* 28 (1997), 1–32.

“Lord Father,” [the abbot] said, “the truth has not been told to you concerning this matter, for which I am reproached. Far be it from me ever to receive an excommunicate without your permission. Our [monastic] order is only as eminent as it is subject and prompt to obey the bishops. In bishops we honor or deny the Lord, as [Christ] said: ‘He who hears you, hears me, and he who despises you, despises me [Luke 10:16].’ Behold, I summon suitable witnesses [to attest] that the excommunicated viscount, after he was killed while pillaging (since pillaging counts had been excommunicated openly in all councils), was brought by his knights to our monastery without my knowledge; we never received his body, nor buried it, but we ordered it to be carried back over the water without sacred office, where his knights, with no clerics present, buried it.” Having heard this, the bishops ruled, saying, “If it is true that the excommunicate was not buried [there], then the abbot of the monastery cannot be judged culpable.”¹⁰¹

The abbot of Uzerche thus asserted the necessity of complying with episcopal decisions; indeed, he tied the prestige of the monastic order to its obedience to bishops. Again, the source material for these speeches must be questioned because the records of this council are among the texts written—and at least partially forged—by Ademar of Chabannes. As I discussed in the introduction to this chapter, however, the question of whether the opinions found in these proceedings truly belonged to the abbot of Uzerche or were in fact put in his mouth by Ademar is less crucial for our purposes. This passage represents, at the very least, the opinions of an important eleventh-century monastic figure concerning the proper role of episcopal regulation and judgment at monasteries. Ademar was well aware of Abbo of Fleury’s thought on episcopal authority at monasteries, and he had access to key texts of Gregory the Great on this issue. Nonetheless he either recorded or forged this statement endorsing monastic subjection to episcopal

¹⁰¹ Mansi 19:540–41; PL 142:1391: “‘Domine,’ inquit, ‘Pater, de hac re, qua accusor, veritas vobis nunciata non est. Absit a me, ut absque vestra licentia aliquando suscipiam excommunicatum. Ordo enim noster quanto sublimior est, tanto subjectior et promptior ad obediendum episcopis ut sit, necesse est. In episcopis enim ipsum Deum honoramus, vel contemnimus, sicut ipse ait: ‘Qui vos audit, me audit; et qui vos spernit, me spernit.’ Ecce idoneos testes adhibeo, quia ille vicecomes excommunicatus, postquam praedando interfectus est (comites enim praedantes, excommunicati palam in omnibus conciliis sunt) me ignorante a militibus suis ad monasterium nostrum deportatus est: cuius corpus neque suscepimus, neque sepelivimus, sed sine officio sacro retro ultra aquam revehi iussimus, ubi milites ipsi, nullo clericorum astante, sepelierunt illud.’ Quod audito, episcopi iudicaverunt, dicentes: ‘Si ita est, nec ille excommunicatus sepultus est, nec abbas monasterii culpabilis iudicari potest.’”

will.¹⁰² These texts, like the speech by Bishop Jordan quoted in the introduction, assert the basic right of monasteries to function independent of episcopal interference and to be ruled solely by their abbot. Nonetheless, these passages were careful to maintain a counterbalance to this independence: the monasteries were required to obey episcopal and conciliar orders, and they could be reprimanded if they did not. The speech by the abbot of Uzerche went one step further and tied the prestige of the regular clergy to their willingness and alacrity in obeying bishops. This stands in striking contrast to the thought of Abbo, for whom the regular clergy's prestige freed them from such obedience. Although Ademar's authorship raises serious questions about the accuracy of his reporting, it is also true that the sentiments spoken by Jordan and others seem to reflect the situation in Aquitaine at the time: as we have seen, involvement by bishops in supervising religious houses was generally accepted.

It seems that the rights of bishops in council to judge religious houses differed from those of individual bishops. Although the right to reprimand a wayward monastery was attributed to councils, the offenses monasteries might commit included the defiance of excommunications, which could be issued by a single bishop. While houses were bound to obey both bishops and councils, in certain cases the councils had more authority: we have no examples of bishops judging religious houses and their members individually, outside of the council setting—although when a bishop such as Ebles controlled a monastery, much may have occurred for which we do not have evidence. Houses might also be given privileges that protected them from the sentences of individual bishops by attributing certain disciplinary powers only to councils.¹⁰³ In Aquitaine, it seems that there may have been a division between the sorts of cases heard by diocesan synods and those considered by councils. A diocesan synod was more likely to be the resort of a house that was threatened by outsiders, while councils judged the misdeeds of the houses themselves. Of course, this assertion must remain a tentative one, given that such a small number of documents concerning episcopal judgments survive.

¹⁰² As I mentioned above (n. 8), Ademar copied Abbo's canon law collection, and Saint-Martial had a copy of Gregory the Great's register in this period.

¹⁰³ For example, Hildegard of Limoges forbade individual bishops from excommunicating the house of Uzerche; this right was granted only to councils. See *Uzerche* 40 (pp. 73–75).

The Bishop as Threat

In the majority of sources in which he appeared, Bishop Turpio of Limoges was praised as a supporter of religious houses.¹⁰⁴ It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, to read the account of Turpio in the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*. This text reports that he was intensely jealous of the monastery of Uzerche, feeling that its splendor outshone that of Limoges because King Pepin II of Aquitaine transferred the see to Uzerche after Limoges had been destroyed.¹⁰⁵ Once the city of Limoges had been secured, however, Turpio set out to demolish the power and prestige of Uzerche: “as much as he was able, [Turpio] destroyed this royal, episcopal, and ecclesiastical house at Uzerche by turning it over to lay power, and declaring that just as a man ought not to have two wives, neither should a bishop have two sees.”¹⁰⁶ The *Historia* goes on to recount that Turpio and local barons took advantage of the chaos surrounding the Viking incursions to seize the lands of Uzerche. The text laments, “This same Bishop Turpio divided the lands, honors, and alms that the faithful had given to this place for their souls among the lord of the castle of Ségur, the viscount of Limoges, and the viscount of Comborn; for his own use, the above-mentioned bishop kept a portion that was not worthless.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ For more on Turpio’s activities, see chapters 5 and 6. Ademar of Chabannes recounts that Turpio was known in his lifetime for many miracles: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147).

¹⁰⁵ The *Historia monasterii Usercensis* does not reveal the circumstances in which Limoges was destroyed. Léonce Auzias, in his history of Carolingian Aquitaine, mentions no destruction of Limoges during the era of Pepin II, although the Limousin saw much of the fighting between Pepin and Charles the Bald and was also prey to Viking incursions: Auzias, *L’Aquitaine carolingienne*, pp. 125–270. See also Aubrun (*L’ancien diocèse*, p. 162 n. 17) who offers no theory on the cause of the destruction of the city of Limoges.

¹⁰⁶ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 14–15: “Pipino Rege mortuo, et reaedificata urbe Lemovica, ibique Turpione substituto episcopo, perpendens ipse episcopus Lemovicensem sedem splendore illius Usercae pene annullari, eo quod Rex in hanc urbem ecclesiasticam domum et sedem transtulerat; considerans eam non sui juris esse, in quantum potuit, dissipavit hanc regalem et episcopalem atque ecclesiasticam domum Usercensem, transmittendo eam in laicam ditionem, asserensque sicut virum non oportere duas habere uxores, sic nec episcopum duas sedes.”

¹⁰⁷ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 15–16: “His temporibus Normanni terras istas populabantur. Ideo sub nomine eorum, quasi, si ipsi munitissimam urbem Usercam occuparent, audacius contra regnum insurgerent, supradictus [Turpio] et complices sui barones multa mala huic loco Usercensi contulerunt, regnante Carolo qui Minor dictus est: qui occupatus diversis bellis et negotiis, nihil ad eius aures ex his quae gerebantur perveniebat, nec erat qui ea ei insinuaret... Terras vero, honores et elemosynas quas

This text presents a different view of a bishop's actions at a monastery than we have seen thus far in this chapter. Until now, incidents of episcopal authority at religious houses have been portrayed by the sources in a positive or at least neutral light.¹⁰⁸ The picture is not complete, however, until we include the occasions in which communities saw a bishop's control of the house and its assets, or his desire to exercise certain rights there, as unjust or as a threat. What did the bishops seek in these cases, how and why did the communities resist, and how were the disputes resolved?¹⁰⁹

Bishops who threatened religious houses often sought access to the land and wealth of those communities for their own purposes. Bishop Hugh of Angoulême exploited the holdings of the cathedral canons in order to pursue a war against Count Arnald Manzer of Angoulême.¹¹⁰ Hugh's successor, Grimoard, stated explicitly that he had removed land from the canons of Saint-Pierre for his own ends; he also distributed the lands of the monastery of Saint-Cybard to his family's lay followers.¹¹¹ In other cases, bishops sought to exercise certain rights over a house. In one example, Bishop Jordan of Limoges tried to force Saint-Junien and its provost, Raoul, to accept the return of a canon named Iménée, who had committed an unspecified crime against the community.¹¹² Jordan

fideles huic loco pro animabus suis contulerant, iste Turpio episcopus inter dominum Seguris castri, vicecomitis Lemovicensis, et vicecomitis Combornensis, divisit; ad suam vero utilitatem supradictus episcopus non retinens viliorum portionem."

¹⁰⁸ Certain scholars have questioned the reliability of the information found in the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*: Becquet ("Les évêques," p. 82) and Robert de Lasteyrie, (*Étude sur les comtes*, p. 78 n. 1) state that this text was probably created in the thirteenth century and is full of inventions. On the other hand, it should certainly not be disqualified simply because it presents the only negative image of the oft-praised Turpio, as bishops often behaved very differently toward different religious houses. In light of this, we must reject Aubrun's analysis (*L'ancien diocèse*, p. 162 n. 17) when he writes that Turpio's reported behavior toward Uzerche seems "unthinkable" given his ties to major figures of monastic reform, such as Odo of Cluny. Nonetheless, we must keep in mind the problems with the text and not accept its account unreservedly.

¹⁰⁹ The question of how religious houses dealt with threats has not received much scholarly attention, with the exception of the stimulating article by Barbara Rosenwein, Thomas Head, and Sharon Farmer on the comparative methods employed by the monks of Cluny, Fleury, and Marmoutier ("Monks and their Enemies"). On monastic cursing, see Lester Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY, 1993).

¹¹⁰ *Historia pontificum*, c. 22, pp. 13–14. See also discussion above, chapter 3.

¹¹¹ *Angoulême* 8 (p. 10); Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (p. 158).

¹¹² This case is reported in the chronicle of Stephen Maleu (1282–1322), who was a canon of Saint-Junien. The Latin text of Maleu's chronicle is found in François Arbellot, ed., *Chronique de Maleu, chanoine de Saint-Junien, mort en 1322, publiée pour*

tried prayers and threats but could not accomplish his will, as the community continued to resist the return of Iménée. The chronicle account of this incident explained that the canons resisted Jordan's effort because they did not want the bishop to acquire the right to place canons at the house or remove them. It is possible that independent control of their membership was one of several rights the house acquired when it was rebuilt during the reign of Bishop Hilduin.¹¹³

The monastery of Nouaillé also resisted an episcopal attempt to exercise rights it found objectionable, according to a charter dated to December of 934. It describes how a man named Gaudoinus, the priest of the church of Montvinard, which belonged to Nouaillé, came to Abbot Rothard to complain of the behavior of Bishop Frotier II of Poitiers. Gaudoinus told the abbot that Frotier had demanded food, hospitality, and money (*paratum et pastum*) for himself and his entourage from the church of Montvinard.¹¹⁴ Gaudoinus and Rothard considered it unjust for the bishop to demand hospitality at Montvinard, perhaps because of a privilege issued in 794 by Louis the Pious, then king of Aquitaine, which confirmed the status of Nouaillé and protected its holdings. Included in Louis's document was a passage addressed to bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, and other public officials, including the king's *missi*. The king forbade these men to enter into the holdings of Nouaillé for any reason, whether to hear cases, extract fines, or demand hospitality (*paratum*).¹¹⁵

la première fois avec des notes explicatives et suivie de documents historique sur la ville de Saint Junien (Saint-Junien and Paris, 1847). Jean Becquet provides translations of passages of this text in different sections of "Les évêques," for Jordan and Saint-Junien, see pp. 94–95. See also Jean-Loup Lemaître, "Note sur le texte de la *Chronique* d'Étienne Maleu, chanoine de Saint-Junien," *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), 175–91.

¹¹³ During the reign of Hilduin, the house of Saint-Junien faced threats from the lords of Chabannes. Hilduin, with the support of Duke William the Great, attempted to protect the house by building a castle, but this action provoked Jordan of Chabannes into a conflict described in Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.42 (p. 163). Jean Becquet speculated that Saint-Junien was destroyed in the course of this conflict. Becquet goes on to argue that Hilduin participated in rebuilding Saint-Junien and called in Israel, his chaplain and the provost of Le Dorat, to act as provost of the new house; Becquet also speculates that it was in this period that Saint-Junien acquired the rights that it upheld in the fight against Jordan: "Collégiales et sanctuaires," pp. 93–95. On Israel, see *Vita beati Israelis canonici Doratensis in marchia*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, 2:566–67; Jean Becquet, "Saint Israël, prévôt de Saint-Junien vers l'an mil," *BSAHL* 120 (1992), 27–32. For more on Saint-Junien, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 151.

¹¹⁴ *Nouaillé* 46 (pp. 81–82).

¹¹⁵ *Nouaillé* 6 (pp. 8–10). Louis revisited this immunity in a charter from the spring of 808, although in this case he did not include bishops among those he addressed:

Disputes over episcopal exploitation or attempted exploitation were resolved in various ways. In some cases, the bishop gave up his demands. The resolution of Frotier's attempt to extract hospitality from the church belonging to Nouaillé, for example, seems to have been simple and amicable. Abbot Rothard approached the bishop and pointed out to him that his behavior was unjust; if this exemption stemmed from the privilege of Louis the Pious, perhaps the abbot called attention to that document. Frotier acquiesced gracefully, earning praise from the house as a pious pastor. Further, Frotier demanded that a document be drawn up outlining Nouaillé's rights, so that no other bishop would repeat his error.¹¹⁶ In another example of a bishop relenting and regretting earlier behavior toward a house, Grimoard of Angoulême came to rue his treatment of the land of the canons of Saint-Pierre as he faced a serious illness.¹¹⁷ There is no indication, by contrast, that he ever returned the lands of Saint-Cybard. As for the lands of the cathedral that Grimoard's predecessor, Hugh, took in order to finance his campaign against Count Arnald Manzer of Angoulême, we have no evidence whether or when they were returned to the cathedral.¹¹⁸ We also have no indication that Turpio of Limoges ever relented in his hostility to Uzerche; according to the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, relations between the see and the house only changed when Turpio's successor, Ebles, came to the episcopal throne.¹¹⁹

In the case of the dispute between Jordan of Limoges and the canons of Saint-Junien, it was the house that gave up its resistance. After the death of the provost, Raoul, his successor, Amelius, realized that Jordan still wished to secure the return of the disgraced canon Iménée to Saint-Junien. Amelius speculated that if he acquiesced to the bishop's wish, the house might benefit from his gratitude. This turned out to be correct: when Jordan heard of Iménée's return to Saint-Junien he gave

Nouaillé 9 (pp. 14–15). In turn, Pepin II echoed these sentiments in a charter from 827: Nouaillé 11 (pp. 19–20).

¹¹⁶ Nouaillé 46 (p. 82). Frotier's signature on this document is probably an autograph, and he proclaims himself to be a physician of divine law: "Presentibus his actum est. Frotherius divine legis medicus scripsi et subscripsi." The phrase *Presentibus his actum est* is missing from the printed edition but is visible in the original, in the same hand as the body of the charter (Archives Départementales de la Vienne, carton 8, no. 34).

¹¹⁷ Angoulême 8 (p. 10).

¹¹⁸ The *Gallia Christiana* (2:988) speculated that Hugh may have undergone a change of heart when he saw the pitiful state to which his church was reduced by his actions, but the sources are silent on the subject.

¹¹⁹ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 16–17; Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37); Uzerche 31 (pp. 60–65).

the house certain lands and income. Jordan also finally confirmed a gift given to the house by his predecessor, Hilduin, which he had previously challenged.¹²⁰ This dispute between a bishop and a local collegiate church indicates that while the bishop may have been the nominal head of all such communities, canons, like monks, were not always ready to accept the bishop's will. It also shows the recourse that a bishop might have on such an occasion, taking away lands and income. Unfortunately, we are never told why Jordan was so determined to return this wayward canon. It is possible that—as Raoul and the canons feared—he wished simply to assert that he had the right to do so.

These disputes show that bishops were not always a benign presence at religious houses in tenth-century Aquitaine. Nonetheless, the small number of such cases is striking, as is the fact that the disputes rarely continued until the bishop's death. In most cases a solution was brokered, and in some it was the bishop who relented. Unresolved disputes between bishops and religious houses, such as the enmity that existed between Arnulf of Orléans and Fleury, were very rare in Aquitaine. Bishops and religious houses might be enemies, but these relationships, like the others studied in this chapter, were fluid. A bishop might begin as a threat and end as a benefactor, or play different roles at different houses. This situation echoes findings in work done on disputes at religious houses in other regions of France, which has shown that friends of the monks could easily become their enemies and then their friends again.¹²¹

Conclusion

Aquitanian bishops were involved at religious communities in their dioceses in a wide range of roles: abbot and ruler, protector and censor, benefactor and threat. The relationship between a bishop and any given house was multifaceted and changeable, depending on the different considerations to which the bishop was subject. Despite this, the overall tone of relations between bishops and regular clergy in Aquitaine in this period was harmonious. We find far more cases of bishops intervening at religious houses without any sign of conten-

¹²⁰ Chronicle of Maleu, in Becquet, "Les évêques," pp. 94–95.

¹²¹ See, for example, Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, p. 12; Rosenwein, Head, and Farmer, "Monks and their Enemies," esp. pp. 768 and 772.

tion on the part of its residents than we do cases of disputes between communities and their bishop. The guiding principle governing these interactions seems to have been that monasteries (and, by extension, houses of canons) should be given adequate independence if they showed appropriate respect for episcopal authority and decrees. The implication is that historians seeking to understand the functioning of the church in this period, and the relations between secular and regular clergy in particular, should not allow focus on any one aspect of those relations—such as disputes or drives for exemption—to overshadow the complexity of the whole.

Furthermore, the multi-faceted nature of episcopal authority at religious houses mirrors the nature of the tenth-century Aquitanian episcopacy. These bishops, as we have seen, stood at an intersection between the lay aristocracy and the church; their membership in both these groups meant that they were subject to a variety of bonds and responsibilities. When we look at cases such as those of Hildegard of Limoges at Uzerche or Ebles of Limoges at Saint-Maixent, and follow the threads of their involvement back to their origins—in pastoral duty, family politics, assertion of episcopal authority, and the desire for salvation—it becomes clear that episcopal relations with religious houses serve as a sort of microcosm of the bishop's situation more generally. These examples illustrate once again the inaccuracy of separating a bishop's institutional and private duties, of characterizing these men either as rare remnants of public authority or as lay aristocrats in all but name, interested only in advancing their own personal power. Nor should we assume that when the bishop acted in his official capacity he was a beneficent presence at religious houses, while when he acted in the interests of his family, he was a threat. On the contrary, a family might prompt a bishop's generosity to a house, while clashes between the bishops and the regular clergy over rights or assets did occur. To understand the actions of tenth-century bishops, at religious houses or in other contexts, it once again proves necessary to consider the full range of their interests and obligations.

CHAPTER FIVE

EPISCOPAL FOUNDATION, RESTORATION, AND REFORM OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Bishop Turpio of Limoges issued a document around the year 940 in which he expressed his dismay at the depths to which *religio* had sunk in his lifetime.¹ Perhaps the most disturbing manifestation of this degeneration was the behavior of churchmen:

We, who ought to have clung to God before all others, in whose estate we are known to be, we are, according to the prophet, the snare of ruin for others [Hosea 9:8], and those of us who should have been pastors are wolves of the evening [Habakkuk 1:8]. The prophecy of Malachi is fulfilled in us each day, when he said: “You departed from the way and caused many to stumble,” and a little later: “For that reason I give you up as contemptible [Malachi 2:8–9],” and Job [said], echoing the voice of the grieving church: “all my limbs are reduced to nothing [Job 16:8].” Jeremiah also lamented, saying: “How the gold is darkened, the best color is changed, the stones of the sanctuary are dispersed at the head of all the streets [Lamentations 4:1].”²

¹ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (pp. 27–29); also printed as *Saint-Étienne* 17 (pp. 39–41): “Mundo jam senescente, religio defectum incurrit et ita irreligiositas seu injusticia habundant...” The charter is dated between 936 and 942, because of the presence among the witnesses of Turpio’s brother, Abbot Aimo of Saint-Martial, who ruled in those years. For the relationship between Aimo and Turpio, see Bernard Itier, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. Lemaitre, c. 31, p. 8; Ademar, *Commemoratio abbatum*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial*, ed. Duplès-Agier, pp. 3–4; Odo of Cluny, *De vita sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis comitis Libri Quattor*, PL 133:639–703 at col. 642. According to Niermeyer, Van de Kieft, and Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, p. 1182, the term *religio* had a variety of uses in early medieval France, including religious life, monastic community, and the rule of an order, as well as more general meanings such as piety, devotion, or church custom.

² Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (p. 28): “ut ipsi nos qui prae ceteris Domino adhaerere debueramus, in cuius sorte esse noscitur, simus aliis juxta prophetam, laqueus ruinae et qui debueramus esse pastores, simus lupi vespertini, completur in nobis cotidie vaticinium Malachiae dicentis: ‘Vos recessistis de via et scandalizastis plurimos’ et post pauca: ‘Idcirco dedi vos contemptibiles esse,’ et Job ex voce dolentis ecclesiae: ‘Ad nichilum redacti sunt omnes artus mei.’ Hieremias quoque plangit dicens: ‘Quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus, dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarii in capite omnium platearum.’”

Weighed down by the responsibility of his office and the fear that his own incompetence had resulted in this sad situation, and filled with terrifying certainty that the justice of God would be unyielding, Turpio wished to atone for his sins and shortcomings as a pastor. In time, having benefited from prayers and good advice, the bishop found a solution to his troubles: if he was prevented by worldly duties from entering a monastery himself, he might at least construct a cloister where others could lead a monastic life.³ In this way he was able simultaneously to aid his own soul and to improve the state of religious life in the diocese. With the consent of his relations, of certain cathedral canons, and of other eminent men, therefore, Turpio built the monastery of Saint-Augustin near the city of Limoges, on a spot overlooking the river Vienne.⁴ The new house stood on the site of an earlier community, which, according to one source, had been destroyed in the invasions and the civil wars that afflicted the Limousin in this period.⁵ Having founded Saint-Augustin as an act of personal devotion, Turpio went on to name its first abbot and to ensure that the house would have adequate income and security in the future.

Turpio's measures at Saint-Augustin are in many ways representative of episcopal foundation, restoration, and reform of religious houses in tenth-century Aquitaine, illustrating what one source called the "causes and methods" of episcopal activity in this vein.⁶ Bishops' actions were often inspired by pious considerations, in order to benefit their own souls and those of their loved ones. Bishops such as Turpio

³ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (p. 28).

⁴ Evidence for the history of Turpio's house at Saint-Augustin comes from three sources. The first is this charter, found in the cartulary of the cathedral of Limoges. The second is the history of the house written in the first years of the fourteenth century by Bernard Gui, the Dominican who would later gain fame as an inquisitor: *De fundatione et progressu monasterii Sancti Augustini Lemovicensis*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, 2:277–78; a new edition is found in Jean Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Augustin de Limoges (Xe–XII^e siècles)," *Revue Mabillon* 58, nos. 261–62 (1975), 355–76 at pp. 373–76. The final text is another charter issued by Turpio; the original was lost but subsequently reconstructed by Jean Becquet from later copies and from quotations in Gui's account: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 5 (pp. 26–27).

⁵ Bernard Gui gives a full history of the house, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Augustin," pp. 373–74. Turpio acknowledged the existence of an earlier church dedicated to Augustine: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 5 (p. 27).

⁶ Pierre Coral, in Jean Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin de Limoges (XI^e–XII^e siècles)," *Revue Mabillon* 59, no. 278 (1979), 375–92 at p. 387 (see n. 27 below).

also expressed a desire to participate—even if indirectly—in the life of the regular clergy. As pastors, bishops were aware of their responsibility to oversee the quality of religious life in their diocese and—as we saw in the last chapter—they did not hesitate to intervene at religious houses when they deemed it necessary.⁷ Further, the sources emphasize that bishops were often moved to action by the diminishment or destruction of a previously-existing community; rather than found a completely new establishment, bishops tended to restore a damaged or neglected house, or to build in a location where a religious community had previously stood. As we shall see, however, documents describing these restorations tended to shape their accounts of the destruction of these houses, particularly that caused by the Vikings, in distinctive ways that often do not correspond to other surviving evidence. Finally, bishops rebuilt or restored houses in order to serve political purposes, consolidating influence and power in key locations. Having made the decision to reform or rebuild a religious house, bishops followed a pattern in executing their designs: they built (or rebuilt) the structures of the house, reassembled and increased its properties, ensured its future protection, and established its mode of religious life.

Although bishops often took a lead role in foundations and reforms of religious communities in their diocese, to study only those cases in which the bishop was the primary actor would be to underestimate the variety of their activities in this field. Bishops often encouraged the foundation and restoration of communities by laymen or other clerics by giving advice or permission for new constructions, participating in foundation or consecration ceremonies, and issuing or soliciting privileges for the new house. The multi-faceted authority of the bishop, which encompassed both spiritual functions and responsibilities as well as the means to provide lands, incomes, and protection to a house, made them uniquely able to oversee such activities themselves as well as sought-after allies in the work of others.

Reasons for Rebuilding: Vikings, Souls, and Reform

Bishops undertook the foundation, restoration, and reform of religious houses for a variety of reasons. Like many powerful individuals who

⁷ Joseph Avril explored episcopal responsibility for protecting religious houses as expressed in northern French charters: “Observance monastique,” pp. 9–16.

decided to benefit such communities in this period, they invoked their concern for health of their souls and for the fate of their loved ones after death. On occasion, they justified their actions by the need to reform religious life at a given community. Particularly striking, however, are the numerous cases in which Aquitanian bishops (and others engaged in the work of restoration) claimed that they acted at a given community because they were moved by the fact that the house had been destroyed or reduced to a pitiable state through neglect, often dating back to the Viking incursions of the ninth century. The turbulence of the late ninth century loomed large in the imagination of the succeeding era, although with close investigation we find other causes of disruption than the Vikings, as well as discrepancies in the evidence that suggest the need for a re-evaluation of their impact.

Aquitaine in the mid-ninth century saw two different yet interrelated sources of ongoing violence.⁸ First, different branches of the Carolingian family fought for control of the region. Aquitaine had played an important role in the early years of the family's dominance as a subkingdom ruled by the heir to the throne, Louis the Pious, but would become a source of dispute for his descendents. After the death of Louis's son, Pepin I of Aquitaine, in 838, Pepin's son, Pepin II, assumed the throne. Louis, however, wanted to add Aquitaine to the kingdom he was carving out for his youngest son, Charles the Bald.⁹ This inaugurated a civil war in which Pepin II fought his grandfather and then his uncle for control of the kingdom; at one point, Pepin even hired a Viking army to aid his cause.¹⁰ Other members of the fractious Carolingian family,

⁸ This section was first published in expanded form as Trumbore Jones, "Pitying the Desolation."

⁹ The main contemporary source for this conflict is the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*: Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet, eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1964); for a translation, see Janet L. Nelson, ed. and trans., *The Annals of Saint-Bertin*, Ninth-Century Histories 1 (Manchester, 1991). On Louis the Pious's attempts to drive Pepin II out of Aquitaine, see Grat et al., eds., pp. 32–33 and Nelson, ed., p. 46; see also Friedrich Kurze and Georg Pertz, eds., *Annales Fuldenses*, MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hannover, 1891), pp. 29–31, and for a translation see Timothy Reuter, ed. and trans., *The Annals of Fulda*, Ninth-Century Histories 2 (Manchester, 1992), pp. 16–17. The most detailed scholarly account of the struggles is found in Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, chapters three and four. On Carolingian government of Aquitaine more generally, see chapter 1, n. 44.

¹⁰ Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, p. 74; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, p. 84; Marcel Garaud, "Les incursions des Normands en Poitou et leurs conséquences," *Revue historique* 180 (1937), 241–67 at pp. 254–56. Pepin would later be imprisoned in a monastery, then escape and live among the Vikings: Grat et al., eds., *Annales de*

such as a son of Louis the German, later tried to capitalize on Charles the Bald's perceived weakness in Aquitaine.¹¹ The violence often had a direct impact on the cities and leaders of the region: Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers, a partisan of Charles the Bald, for example, was assassinated in the early 850s, possibly because of his loyalty to the king, while in 857, Poitiers was sacked by Pepin and his hired Vikings.¹² Even after 859, when Pepin became less of a threat, the trouble in Aquitaine was not over, as Charles the Bald's son, also named Charles, who had been given control of the region, often defied his father's will.¹³ This internecine fighting not only caused destruction in its own right, but may also have prevented the powerful men of the region from focusing on defense against the Vikings—or, in the case of Pepin II, actually precipitated their arrival.

The Vikings, who constituted the second source of violence in the region in this period, were not new to the Continent in the late ninth century, but rather had begun to trouble coastal Aquitaine during the reign of Louis the Pious; a number of sources attest, for example, to the suffering of the monastery of Saint-Philibert on the island of Noirmoutier.¹⁴ The most concentrated period of Viking activity in Aquitaine fell between 845 and 870, when the annals of the region become little more than a grim list of the cities and religious houses that fell in each year. Saintes was burned in 845, while Bordeaux and Périgueux fell three years later; the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* attribute the Viking capture of Bordeaux to the treachery of a number of its Jewish

Saint-Bertin, pp. 64–65 and 105; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 74–75 and 111; Kurze and Pertz, eds., *Annales Fuldenses*, p. 41; Reuter, ed., *Annals of Fulda*, p. 32.

¹¹ Kurze and Pertz, eds., *Annales Fuldenses*, p. 44; Reuter, ed., *Annals of Fulda*, pp. 35–36.

¹² On Ebroin of Poitiers, see Oexle, “Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers,” pp. 189–91; Léon Levillain, “L’archichapelain Ebroin,” pp. 209–14.

¹³ Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, pp. 90–91; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 99–100.

¹⁴ For documents on Noirmoutier, see René Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l’histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus), publiés d’après les notes d’Arthur Giry par René Poupardin* (Paris, 1905); *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hannover, 1829), pp. 252–53; *Annales Engolismenses*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH SS 16 (Hannover, 1858), pp. 485–86; Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, p. 44; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 55–56; Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.16 (p. 132). Note that the island of Noirmoutier is also called Hero or Herio in some sources. On Philibert and the foundation of Noirmoutier, see Georges Pon, “Le monachisme en Poitou avant l’époque carolingienne,” *BSAO* 4th series, 17 (1983), 91–130, esp. pp. 111–14; Garaud, “Les incursions des Normands,” pp. 247–48.

residents.¹⁵ Poitiers, which was probably the largest city of the region, rebuffed several attacks but was finally burned in 865.¹⁶ The destruction of Angoulême and Limoges was not recorded in the annals, although the eleventh-century chronicler Ademar of Chabannes includes them in his list of cities lost to the raids. The annals from Angoulême do record that, beginning in 868, a rebuilding campaign was underway in the city.¹⁷ The effort to resist the Vikings also took its toll on the local aristocracy, as Count Turpio of Angoulême died fighting the Vikings in 863, while Count Ramnulf I of Poitiers died with Duke Robert the Strong of Francia at the battle of Brissarthe, near the Loire, in 866.¹⁸

The brunt of all this destruction, according to many sources, fell on religious houses. In describing the fate of Aquitaine during the raids and their effect on religious life, the author of the twelfth-century *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* borrowed a passage from the ninth-century author Adrevaldus of Fleury:

What can I say about the immense suffering of the Aquitanians... From the coast of the ocean, east to Clermont, the most illustrious town of Aquitaine in ancient times, no region could remain in liberty; there was no fortified town or village, no city that did not submit to the deadly carnage of the pagans. Poitiers, formerly the richest city of Aquitaine, bears witness to this; Saintes, Angoulême, Périgueux, Limoges, Clermont... and even Bourges, capital of the kingdom of Aquitaine, proclaim that with no armed hand aiding them, they yielded themselves to the assault of the enemy. For about thirty years, the Gauls, for our sins, were worn down by these evils; how the divine cult proceeded, whether it flourished or not, is clear to all, even those of limited intelligence.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, MGH SS 2:253; *Annales Engolismenses*, MGH SS 16:486; Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, pp. 55 and 57; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 65–66 and 68.

¹⁶ Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, pp. 104 and 122; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 111 and 127.

¹⁷ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.17 (p. 135). For the rebuilding of Angoulême, see *Annales Engolismenses*, MGH SS 16:486.

¹⁸ *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, MGH SS 2:253; *Annales Engolismenses*, MGH SS 16:486; Robert Favreau, "Carolingiens et Robertiens," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, p. 159.

¹⁹ The passage from Adrevaldus of Fleury is found in Eugène de Certain, ed., *Les miracles de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1858); the above quotation is on p. 73: "Quid Aquitanicae gentis ingentem referam afflictationem... Ab ipso quoque, ut ita loquar, Oceani littore, orientem versus, Arvernam usque, clarissimam veteri tempestate Aquitaniae urbem, nulla libertatem retinere valuit regio, non oppidum aut vicus, non denique civitas quae non strage ferali conciderit paganorum. Testatur hoc Pictavis, fecundissima quondam urbs Aquitaniae, hoc Sanctonae, hoc Engolisma, hoc Petrogorium, hoc Lemovicis; hoc certe Arvernus... ipsumque Avaricum, caput regni Aquitanici, proclamant, nulla scilicet

Faced with this destruction of their communities and cities, monks and canons took their treasures, particularly their relics, and fled inland to seek shelter in safer areas. The chronicler of Saint-Maixent later added that so many Aquitanian monasteries had been destroyed in this period that he had neither the ability to recall them all nor the space to list their names.²⁰

Although the last Viking incursion would not come until the early eleventh century, the worst period of destruction in the region was over by the late 870s, and the churches of Aquitaine faced the task of rebuilding their structures and reassembling their properties.²¹ One example of this effort is described in a letter from Pope John VIII to Bishop Hecfrid of Poitiers, written in late August of 878. The pope stated that the church of Poitiers suffered because its lands had been usurped; presumably the recent period of disruption had led to unjust or unknowing seizures of church property.²² The pope and the bishop attempted to recover these lands and to prevent any further losses. John forbade anyone, be they priest or soldier, to remove any church, monastery, land, or person from the cathedral's possession without the bishop's permission. Hecfrid and his successor bishops, the pope decreed, should hold everything that their predecessors had held.²³ It

bellica obviant manu, hostili graviter sese concidisse incursu. His atque hujuscemodii malis, per triginta ferme annorum spatium, Galliis, non absque piaculo quorumlibet, detritis, cultus quoque divinae religionis quomodo processerit, utrum necne floruerit, in promptu est cuilibet, licet tardioris ingenii, mortalium persentiscere." On Adrevaldus's work, see Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 138–52. The passage is found in the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* at pp. 50–51.

²⁰ *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 68–69.

²¹ Verdon, "Le monachisme," p. 235. On the last Norman attacks in Aquitaine and the resistance offered by the armies of Duke William the Great, see Bernard Bachrach, "Toward a Reappraisal of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine (995–1030)," *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), pp. 13–14. On the reconstruction of monasteries in the central Loire region, see Guy-Marie Oury, "La reconstruction monastique dans l'Ouest: L'abbé Gauzbert de Saint-Julien de Tours (v. 990–1007)," *Revue Mabillon* 54 (1964), 69–124.

²² JE 3181; the text is printed in Caspar, ed., *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 100 (pp. 93–94). Apparently the usurpation of church lands was not an uncommon problem in western France at this time: another letter of John VIII (JE 3145; Caspar, ed., *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 93 [p. 88]), written in the summer of 878 and addressed to a group of bishops of western France, described the seizure of lands belonging to the church of Saint-Maurice of Tours by laymen and enjoined the bishops to aid in the recovery of those properties.

²³ Caspar, ed., *Registrum Iohannis VIII papae*, no. 100 (pp. 93–94).

is worth noting that although the presumed cause of the usurpation of land described by the pope was the conflicts of the Carolingians and the Vikings, locals were forbidden from further capitalizing on the resulting confusion by taking possession of temporarily unattributed lands. The reign of Hecfrid, therefore, saw the first attempts to redress the harm that had been done to the church of Poitiers in the mid-ninth century.

The religious houses of Aquitaine, like the cathedral of Poitiers, had lost property and suffered damage in the ninth century. The bishops of Aquitaine were frequently involved in the restoration of religious houses that had suffered during the raids and civil wars, although the nature of their involvement varied from region to region. In Angoulême, for example, the counts took a leading role in rebuilding these communities.²⁴ In Poitou, on the other hand, bishops were the most prominent restorers. Frotier II of Poitiers rebuilt the monastery of Saint-Cyprien, which lay on the outskirts of the city of Poitiers itself.²⁵ Ebles of Limoges, meanwhile, restored several houses in Poitou that had been damaged during the invasions: the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire and the monasteries of Saint-Maixent and Saint-Michel en l'Erm.²⁶ In Limoges,

²⁴ Count William II Taillefer of Angoulême restored the monastery of Saint-Cybard. Ademar of Chabannes, the *Historia pontificum*, and the *Petites Chroniques* of Saint-Cybard describe, in almost identical passages, the gathering called at the monastery by William and his cousin, Count Bernard of Périgord, to restore monastic life. The counts appointed Abbot Mainard, who built a new oratory to house relics he had brought back from a pilgrimage the Holy Land. William Taillefer also gave three churches and numerous estates to Saint-Cybard: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.24 (p. 146); *Historia pontificum*, c. 19, p. 11; P. de Fleury, ed., "Petites chroniques du moine de Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 5th series, 4 (1881), 11–21 at pp. 20–21. See also *Saint-Cybard* 222 (pp. 198–99).

²⁵ Scholars have argued that Saint-Cyprien was destroyed by Vikings in 863: Lot, "La Loire, l'Aquitaine et la Seine de 862 à 866," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 76 (1915), 473–510 at pp. 483–84; Coutansais, "Les monastères du Poitou," p. 10; Verdon, "Le monachisme," p. 237. No charters from the reign of Frotier blame the Vikings, however, and the one charter to mention "Norman infestations" damaging the house is from the reign of Frotier's successor, Alboin, and does not make it clear when that infestation took place: *Saint-Cyprien* 553 (pp. 326–27). This document means that I erred when I stated in my article that there were no medieval documents mentioning the Vikings at Saint-Cyprien (Trumbore Jones, "Pitying the Desolation," p. 100); I remain unconvinced, however, based on this document, that Vikings caused the destruction that led to Frotier's actions.

²⁶ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47). See also *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 84–85. Ebles and his brother, Count William Tow-Head, also asked King Louis IV d'Outre-Mer to begin the restoration and reform of the monastery of Saint-Jean d'Angély in the Saintonge: Philippe Lauer, ed., *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de*

Bishop Hilduin in 1012 rebuilt the monastery of Saint-Martin, which had, according to a later chronicle, suffered during the civil wars of the Carolingians and the Viking raids.²⁷

It is prudent to treat these descriptions of destruction with some skepticism, however. The notion that the turmoil of the ninth century (particularly the arrival of the Vikings) resulted in the prolonged abandonment of religious houses in western France has persisted despite the fact that other aspects of the Viking incursions have been reassessed.²⁸ Recent scholarship has pointed out that the Continental chronicles, which are our major source for the activities of the Vikings, tend to exaggerate the number of Vikings who participated in the raids, and they do not always distinguish between the effects felt by different regions and sectors of life.²⁹ Indeed, economic activity has been shown to have flourished due to new trading contacts opened by the incursions.³⁰ Even among religious communities, long believed to be the hardest hit by the incursions, there is variation: not all contemporary ecclesiastical sources describe devastation in the wake of the Vikings, while those that do emphasize destruction were often written by authors who did not witness the attacks themselves, who used language deeply influenced by Biblical sources, or who had their own agenda.³¹ These

France (936–954), Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1914), no. 19 (pp. 47–49).

²⁷ The re-foundation of Saint-Martin is mentioned in Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 157). More information is to be had from the chronicle of Pierre Coral, a critical edition of which is found Jean Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin," pp. 385–92. Coral was the sixteenth abbot of Saint-Martin, elected in 1247. He claimed to have composed his chronicle with the aid of many documents, including the charters issued by Hilduin when he rebuilt the house.

²⁸ Garaud, "Les incursions des Normands," pp. 261–67. For a reassessment of the effects of the invasions, see Albert d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes: Une catastrophe?* (Paris, 1970).

²⁹ For a reconsideration of the numbers of Normans active in France at this time, see Carroll Gillmor, "War on the Rivers: Viking Numbers and Mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841–886," *Viator* 19 (1988), 79–109.

³⁰ On the effects of the Normans on trade, see, for example, Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* (Ithaca, NY, 1974), chapter 5; Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD 600–1000* (London, 1982), chapter 8.

³¹ Albert d'Haenens, "Les invasions Normandes dans l'empire Franc au IX^e siècle: Pour une rénovation de la problématique," in *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medioevo, 18–24 aprile 1968*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 16 (Spoleto, 1969), pp. 233–98 at pp. 254–60. Felice Lifshitz has traced the myths created around the movement of relics from monasteries in the path of the Vikings in this period: "The Migration of Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: The

critical reevaluations have prompted scholars to argue that we must rethink both the ramifications of the incursions for religious houses and the ways that medieval authors portrayed their effects.³² This concern is justified in the case of the Aquitanian evidence, as the evocative tales of destruction at religious houses, found in chronicles or certain restoration charters, often do not match with other documentary evidence.³³

Two illustrative examples of such disjuncture in the evidence about religious houses in the wake of the Viking incursions come from the restoration activities of Ebles, bishop of Limoges. The first concerns Ebles's work at the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, which was probably destroyed by the Vikings during their attack on the city in 863.³⁴ There is a gap in the documentary records of the house following this date, and it seems likely that this was due to the scattering of the canons after the attack. When and how did life there resume? We have no restoration charter for Saint-Hilaire, but the chronicler Ademar of Chabannes attributed the rebuilding of the house to Ebles of Limoges. Ademar wrote, "[Ebles] reconstructed the *castellum* of Saint-Hilaire, and he placed canons there because this place had ceased to be inhabited by monks after the Viking attack."³⁵ There is no reason to doubt Ademar's assertion that Ebles restored Saint-Hilaire: we know from charter records that both the bishop and his family had long relationships with the house. Ebles became treasurer of the canons in 937, seven years before he succeeded to the bishopric of Limoges, while

Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft," *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 175–92. As Janet Nelson has recently suggested, later medieval authors writing the history of their houses often had reasons for invoking the Vikings that had little to do with historical accuracy: Janet L. Nelson, "England and the Continent in the Ninth Century II: The Vikings and Others," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th series, 13 (2003), 1–28 at pp. 10–11; see also d'Haenens "Les invasions Normandes," in *I Normanni e la loro espansione*, pp. 248–54.

³² See, for example, Albert d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle: Le phénomène et sa répercussion dans l'historiographie médiévale* (Louvain, 1967), pp. 125–62; Pierre Riché, "Conséquences des invasions normandes sur la culture monastique dans l'occident franc," in *I Normanni e la loro espansione*, pp. 705–21.

³³ For more in-depth analysis of this subject and further examples, see Trumbore Jones, "Pitying the Desolation."

³⁴ Grat et al., eds., *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, pp. 104 and 122; Nelson, ed., *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 111 and 127. See also *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 60–61.

³⁵ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147) (see also *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 84–85): "Construxit a novo castellum Sancti Hilarii, et canonicos ibi disposuit, quia infestatione Nortmannorum idem locus a monachorum prisca habitatione desciverat."

his brother, Duke William Tow-Head, and his nephew, Duke William Iron-Arm, served as successive abbots of the house.³⁶ This tradition might well have inspired Ebles in Saint-Hilaire's time of need.

Ademar's description, however, is deceptive in two ways. First, he states that monks had been chased out of Saint-Hilaire by the Vikings and that when Ebles came to restore the house, he changed its form of life to a house of canons. Saint-Hilaire was in fact not a monastery at the time of the Viking incursions, but had become a house of canons before 808.³⁷ Second, the idea that religious life at Saint-Hilaire ceased after it was burned in 863 and did not recommence until the restoration by Ebles is contradicted by the surviving charters of the house. There was indeed a gap in the documentary record of Saint-Hilaire after 862, but charters reappeared there in 876, sixty years before Ebles became treasurer and renovated the house; a total of nine charters survive from Saint-Hilaire between its destruction in 863 and Ebles's nomination as treasurer in 937.³⁸ These include donations to the canons and the saint and references to various officials of the house. These documents make clear that by the mid-870s a community of canons had reappeared at Saint-Hilaire, apparently organized under the rule of abbots and treasurers and leading an existence admirable enough to attract donations. A full reconstruction may have had to wait for Ebles's restoration, therefore, but it appears that it was not a desolate wasteland until Ebles arrived, as Ademar of Chabannes's account suggested.

The same pattern is found in the evidence surrounding Ebles's restoration of the monastery of Saint-Maixent in Poitou. Here, our account of the ruin of the house and the steps Ebles took to restore it comes from a charter from Saint-Maixent itself, dated by the document's editor to ca. 960:

Then, not much time later, the men of the north were spread throughout all Aquitaine, laying all things to waste by the judgment of God; they reduced the royal place of the holy Adjutor [Maixent] almost to nothing [and] many things that the monks had acquired were turned to wilderness and were consigned to oblivion. However, after many

³⁶ See above, chapter 3, pp. 83–84.

³⁷ See Léon Levillain, "Les origines du monastère de Nouaillé," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 71 (1910), 241–98, esp. pp. 259–73. After 808, canons of Saint-Hilaire who wished to continue the Benedictine life were allowed, according to a privilege from Louis the Pious, to move to Nouaillé, a monastery under Saint-Hilaire's dominion: *Nouaillé* 9 (pp. 14–17).

³⁸ *Saint-Hilaire* 7–15 (pp. 10–20).

years, the most noble Ebles, bishop of the city of Limoges and count of Poitou, with his brother, Duke William of Aquitaine, assenting, pitying the desolation of such a place, desiring to restore [it] to all of its rights, first completed a stronghold all around the monastery; then searching carefully [for] the possessions and churches and other things which kings or powerful men or other faithful had given to this monastery, not only those things which are written above, but also many other things, which he could find in charters, inquiring with all zeal, he restored anew to those serving Christ in this place [those things that] they possessed, and he asked the above-mentioned duke and great men, so that they would confirm this charter.³⁹

This charter is quirky in certain ways. Ebles is referred to, incorrectly, as the count of Poitou, and the format is unusual. This has led certain scholars to question the accuracy of all of the charter's contents, though I am not inclined to dismiss it out of hand. The problems probably stem from the form in which the document survives: it is an early modern copy made from Saint-Maixent's cartulary, with both the original and the cartulary having been lost.⁴⁰ It seems quite possible that one of the copyists who transcribed the document during its history conflated Bishop Ebles with his father, Count Ebles Manzer of Poitou, thus lead-

³⁹ *Saint-Maixent* 23 (p. 37): "Igitur post non multa tempora Normanni diffusi sunt per universam Aquitaniam, cuncta vastantes iudicio Dei; regalem locum sancti Adjutoris pene ad nichilum redigentes, plura, que adquisierant monachi, in solitudine versa sunt et oblivioni tradita. Post multos autem annos nobilissimus Eblo, episcopus Lemovice civitatis et comes Pictavorum, annuente fratre eius Willelmo, duce Aquitanorum, condolens desolationem tanti loci, totis juribus restaurare cupiens, primo in circuitu monasterii castellum perfecit; dehinc possessiones vel ecclesias et cetera queque, quod reges vel potentes fidelesque alii dederant eidem coenobio, sollicite perquirens, non solum haec, que supra scripta sunt, sed etiam alia multa, que in cartulis reperire potuit, cum omni studio inquirens, eidem loco Christo famulantibus ut denuo possiderent restituit, ducique supra dicto et obtimatibus, ut hanc cartam firmarent, rogavit." Ademar of Chabannes concurs that Saint-Maixent was among the houses restored by Ebles: *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147). Alfred Richard, the editor of the Saint-Maixent charters, dates this document to ca. 960, toward the end of Ebles's reign as abbot (*Saint-Maixent*, pp. 35–36, n. 1). He does not, however, discuss his reasons for this date, and I see no reason to date it more specifically than between 944 and 963—that is, between when Ebles became bishop and when his brother William Tow-Head, who was among the witnesses to this charter, died.

⁴⁰ Alfred Richard remarks that either the cartulary version or the copy made from it did not accurately reproduce the original; rather, this is a summary of the original that the medieval or modern copyist attempted to put into "official" form (*Saint-Maixent* 23 [pp. 35–36, n. 3]). Ebles is referred to as bishop of Limoges and erroneously as count of Poitou, while his brother, who was the count, is listed in the next breath as duke of Aquitaine. Richard notes this mistake but offers no explanation and warns only that the document must be used with caution.

ing to the error in titles attributed to the bishop. This mistake could have occurred without profoundly altering the text of the rest of the document, but these idiosyncrasies must be kept in mind when using this charter.

The document states that Ebles was moved by the “desolation” of Saint-Maixent—which implies emptiness or at least minimal numbers of monks—to restore the monastery’s buildings and to reassemble its possessions, even going so far as to do documentary research to accomplish this task. As at Saint-Hilaire, he may also have been prompted by the close ties both he and his family had to the community; Ebles is even referred to as abbot of the house in certain documents.⁴¹ The charter record as a whole, however, suggests that the process was not as simple as it was portrayed in the restoration account. At Saint-Maixent, there was a long gap in the charter record after a confirmation of the monastery’s possessions by Pepin II of Aquitaine in 848, and this could be due to a period of turmoil or disorganization during and after the Viking incursions and the Carolingian civil wars. As was the case at Saint-Hilaire, however, documents reappeared at Saint-Maixent long before the purported restoration of a desolate house in Ebles’s time. After Pepin’s 848 document, the next charter appears in 892; eight documents survive before Ebles was first referred to as abbot, in 936.⁴² Among these is a document describing the appearance of two individuals, Godobald and Ermenbert, at a large gathering at the comital court of Ebles Manzer in the spring of 925. The two men were compelled by the efforts of the count and the advocate for the monastery to restore to Saint-Maixent land that they had usurped.⁴³ If Saint-Maixent had lost land in the incursions or civil wars, this charter underlines the fact that the process of restoring it had begun before the advent of Bishop Ebles and his reforms. At a supposedly desolate house, therefore, we find an active group of monks, officers of the monastery, gifts, and so on, long before the supposed revival of life under Ebles.

The impression conveyed by these and other examples is that while chronicles and charters that described the restoration of a house may have dramatized the desolation of a community before its reconstruction, religious life often had resumed before the end of the ninth

⁴¹ For a discussion of the nature of Ebles’s abbacy at Saint-Maixent, see chapter 4 above (pp. 110–14).

⁴² *Saint-Maixent* 6–13 (pp. 17–26).

⁴³ *Saint-Maixent* 11 (pp. 23–24).

century.⁴⁴ Furthermore, chroniclers such as Ademar of Chabannes sometimes attributed developments they saw as negative, such as changes in religious observance, to the Viking raids.⁴⁵ Why did these authors portray these developments in such a way, overemphasizing the desolation and the destructive effects of the incursions? First, they may have done so to glorify the activities of the restorers. An account of a bishop (or another figure) sweeping in to repopulate a desolate house is more compelling—and far more flattering to the restorer—than a more mundane story of aiding an already-recovering community. Second, authors may have felt that constructing the account in this way added weight to their opinion on certain matters: the fact that a change in a house's rule from monastic to canonical observance was caused by a catastrophe like the Vikings made the relative value of those two observances obvious.

Furthermore, later authors may simply have assumed that the Vikings were responsible for destruction or other negative developments, without being certain. It is striking that later chronicles occasionally attributed the destruction or deterioration of a given house to the Vikings, while contemporary documents made no such claim. For example, Bernard Gui's fourteenth-century account stated that the house of Saint-Augustin was destroyed by the Vikings, and he implied that part of Turpio of Limoges's motivation for rebuilding the house in the tenth century was to remedy this situation. Turpio, meanwhile, said nothing of the Vikings in his own documents.⁴⁶ Similarly, the *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis* recorded that monks had fled the house of Saint-Astier after the Viking incursions.⁴⁷ Radulf of Périgueux stated in his 1013 privilege for the house, on the other hand, that the church

⁴⁴ Similarly, there are twenty-five documents in the cartulary of Saint-Cyprien that date from 888 to just before Frotier's restoration, and many of them are gifts expressly given to the monks of Saint-Cyprien. See the editor's chronological table of charters for this list (*Saint-Cyprien*, introduction pp. xxxiii–xxxv). Later charters continued to portray the Norman raids in dramatic language, in order to emphasize the significance of restorations—see, for example, *Saint-Jean* 181 (1:215–17; dated ca. 1038). For other examples, see Trumbore Jones, "Pitying the Desolation."

⁴⁵ On Ademar's opinion on the canonical versus monastic life, see Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion," in *History in the Comic Mode*, ed. Fulton and Holsinger.

⁴⁶ Bernard Gui's account of Turpio's establishment of Saint-Augustin emphasized the fact that Turpio found the former collegiate church in a pitiable state after its destruction by the Normans: Bernard Gui, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Augustin," p. 374. Turpio's own documents, on the other hand, give other reasons for building the community.

⁴⁷ *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, p. 738.

had fallen down due to old age.⁴⁸ It is possible that later chronicles and charters resorted to naming the Vikings as the reason for destruction at a house when the true cause was unknown.

Finally, it is important to realize that religious houses in this period of disorder faced another enemy besides the Vikings: opportunistic local populations. A striking pattern in the sources shows initial destruction caused by Vikings or the Carolingian civil wars, but then predation in the wake of that destruction by locals hoping to capitalize on the confusion. We saw above the letter from John VIII to Hecfrid of Poitiers forbidding locals to remove land from the cathedral's possession. A more dramatic case concerned the fate of a relic of the Poitevin monastery of Charroux. In the late ninth century, when the Vikings still threatened western Aquitaine, the monks of Charroux came to Angoulême with their most precious possession, a fragment of the True Cross. With the permission of Count Vulgrin, they deposited it in the city for safe-keeping. When the raids ended, Vulgrin's son and successor Alduin was unwilling to let the prestigious relic return to the monastery.⁴⁹ He ordered that a church be built for the relic and called upon his cousin, Fredebert, who was a bishop in Francia, to perform the consecration. Fredebert came as requested, but died at the altar of the new church after performing the mass.⁵⁰ Despite this inauspicious development, Alduin persisted in refusing to return the Cross, for which error he was plagued by years of illness and his realm devastated by recurring famines. Alduin finally relented in 915, and the treasure returned home encased in a new gold reliquary encrusted with gems; the count also

⁴⁸ Copies of the foundation charter of Saint-Astier are found in three different volumes of the Collection Périgord at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: volume 12 (microfilm 14680), ff. 206v–8; volume 34 (microfilm 16308), ff. 188–89 and 345v–46v; volume 77 (microfilm 14683), ff. 41v–42v. I take the text from volume 12, with variations from the other two versions noted: “et quamvis sit incognitum a quo episcopo hic locus prius fuerit consecratus, credendum [77—est] tamen verissime hunc de quo loquimur patrem quia in vita sua in honore principis Apostolorum hanc construxit basilicam: quae pro antiqua vetustate ad solum corruens, a quodam praecellentissimo presule tolosano nomine Hislono, in hunc in quo cernitur statu est reparata. Haec ita esse nulli incertum est.” See also Louis-Charles Grellet-Balguerie, “Des noms de la charte de fondation de l’abbaye de Saint-Astier par Robert-le-Pieux, roi de France en 1013,” *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 22 (1895), 288–92.

⁴⁹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.23 (pp. 144–45).

⁵⁰ There are variations in chronology from Ademar's account in the two later sources that also report this incident: *Historia pontificum*, c. 16, p. 7; P. de Fleury, ed., “Petites chroniques,” p. 20.

gave an estate to Charroux at this time. Alduin's change of heart was soon rewarded as misfortune ceased to dog him and his county.

Although the Vikings may have caused the initial flight of the relics from Charroux, the chief culprit of the story is the unscrupulous Count Alduin, who tried to profit from the monks' predicament. This echoes the pattern seen in other documents, such as that of Pope John and Bishop Hecfrid: the Vikings caused upheaval, but the situation was worsened when locals took advantage of that disarray to seize unjustly land, assets, or relics. If we concede that it is likely that many religious institutions in Aquitaine suffered some sort of damage during the Viking incursions and Carolingian civil wars, and that many tenth-century restorers, including bishops, were driven by a desire to remedy these losses, we must also be aware of three key points: first, that the recovery had often begun before our restorer-bishops arrived on the scene; second, that destruction was often perpetuated and worsened by the acts of opportunistic locals; and third, that our sources, either from lack of information or a desire to portray the developments of the mid- to late-ninth century in a particular way, often shaped their accounts to blame the Vikings and to exaggerate the desolation of these houses at the time of their restoration.

In addition to a desire to remedy the damage suffered by religious houses in the preceding period, bishops acted from other motivations in their foundations and restorations, particularly anxiety for their own souls and a sense of their duty to support the religious life of monks and canons. For example, Arnald of Périgueux (ca. 1013–1037) and his nephews built the church of Saint-Léger at Cognac and established monks there out of concern for past misdeeds:

In the year 1031...a certain most noble bishop of the city of Périgueux, named Arnald, with his nephews, named Itier and Arnald, stung by divine inspiration, so that they might redeem their crimes and so that they might obtain forgiveness from the Savior, established by common decree that they would build a church in the open space of the castle that is commonly called Cognac.⁵¹

⁵¹ The foundation charter of Cognac is printed in François Marvaud, *Études historiques sur la ville de Cognac*, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 2nd series, 2 (1856–1858), pp. 48–49, n. 1: “Anno ab incarnatione Domini MXXXI...quidam nobilissimus episcopus Petragoricae urbis, nomine Arnaldus, una cum nepotibus suis Iterio nomine et Arnaldo, divina inspiratione compuncti, ut sua facinora redimerent et veniam a Salvatore impetrare possent, statuerunt communi decreto ut aedificarent ecclesiam in foro castris, quod vulgariter nuncupatur Cogniacum.”

Similarly, Turpio of Limoges, as we saw above, built the house of Saint-Augustin out of anguish over his own sins and concern for the state of religious observance in his diocese. Radulf of Périgueux also expounded the virtues of supporting religious houses in his charter for Saint-Astier.⁵²

Bishops also acted if they saw the need to change the religious observance at an existing house. Hildegard of Limoges, for example, not long before his death in 990, transformed the house of canons at Eymoutiers, which had been in the control of the bishops of that diocese at least since the reign of Bishop Ebles, into a monastery.⁵³ The *Historia monasterii Usercensis* records that Hildegard was moved to reorganize Eymoutiers by a desire to create a model monastery, which would serve as a center of reform in his diocese. He had visited the famed monastery of Baume and asked that some of its monks be allowed to return with him to Limoges, "because in all of Aquitaine monks of religion were not to be found."⁵⁴ Hildegard's request was granted, and on his return to the Limousin, the bishop drove away the canons of Eymoutiers and gave the house to the monks. These details are not mentioned in contemporary sources and should probably be treated with wariness—it is not unthinkable that a later Limousin author would want to link a house in the region with a monastery as prestigious as Baume. Nonetheless, it does seem certain that Hildegard transformed the religious observance

On the foundation of Cognac and its establishment as a priory of Ebreuil-sur-Sioule in the Auvergne, see Pierre Martin-Civat, "Relations entre Cognac et Ebreuil-sur-Sioule aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *L'Histoire des routes de pèlerinages au Moyen Âge* (Angoulême, 1965), pp. 1–11. Arnald of Périgueux also founded the house of canons of Saint-Pierre de Cellefrouin: Chevalier, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Cellefrouin*, no. 28 (pp. 31–32). For more on the question of how these charter prefaces reflect the sentiments of the donors, see the introduction to this volume (pp. 23–25) and chapter 6 below (pp. 184–88).

⁵² Saint-Astier (see above n. 48): "His visis miraculis, saeculi turgidi amatores, saeculi vanitate postposita, de suis rebus sanctam eamdem ditaverunt aecclesiam et ad eorum residentes limina, devote poscunt suffragia. Credentes eos cum deo suo perpetim vivere in saecula ex quibus nonnulli regio sceptro compti, regiis ex sumptibus construxerunt coenobia, ubi ordo canonica apostolica sequens acta ac monachica saeculi tempore lubrica devote Dei obsecuntur [77—obsequuntur] monita."

⁵³ On Ebles and Eymoutiers, see *Saint-Étienne* 8 (pp. 25–27). Hildegard transformed Eymoutiers into a monastery three years before his death, which probably occurred in 990: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 157). See also Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 149; Becquet, "Collégiales et sanctuaires," pp. 90–93. For other examples of bishops transforming canonries into monasteries, see Parisse, "Princes laïques et/ou moines," in *Il secolo di ferro*, p. 482.

⁵⁴ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 22–23.

at Eymoutiers. Bishops might also act in council to reform religious houses whose lifestyle or leadership were considered degenerate, as occurred in the case of Beaulieu at the council of Limoges in 1031, if we accept the questionable records of this council.⁵⁵

Bishops were, therefore, inspired to found, restore, or reform a religious house for a variety of reasons. They acted out of concern for their own souls and past sins, or out of a desire to improve the quality of religious life at a community. They also were moved by a need to address the problems faced by religious houses in the wake of the disturbances of the mid-ninth century, including loss of property, damage to infrastructure, and changes in observance. While acknowledging the important role played by bishops in this reconstruction effort, however, we must also realize that the sources describing these restorations often shaped their accounts to fit ends other than that of historical accuracy.

Methods of Restoration

Moving from the causes of episcopal renovations and reforms to the method, most examples of episcopal foundation or restoration of religious houses see a common set of steps taken: bishops rebuilt the physical plan of the monastery, reassembled its properties and supplemented them with gifts, gave and solicited privileges and protection, and established or reformed the observance at the house. As we have just seen, bishops were often moved to act at a house because of some level of damage or dilapidation; it is not surprising, therefore, that the first step taken was often the reconstruction of buildings and fortifications. Ebles of Limoges, for example, began the process of restoration

⁵⁵ Ademar of Chabannes's account of the council of Limoges in 1031 shows the assembled bishops acting to replace the lay abbot of the monastery of Beaulieu with a leader elected according to the Benedictine Rule; the bishops were concerned that rule by a layman vitiated the power of monastic life and incurred the anger of God: Mansi 19:536–37. See also Becquet, "Le concile," pp. 44–46; Jane Katherine Beitscher, "Monastic Reform at Beaulieu, 1031–1095," *Viator* 5 (1974), 199–210, who uses charter evidence to supplement the conciliar account. On the foundation of Beaulieu, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 153–56, 166–67; Jane Martindale, "The Nun Immena and the Foundation of the Abbey of Beaulieu: A Woman's Prospects in the Carolingian Church," in *Women in the Church: Papers Read at the 1989 Summer Meeting and the 1990 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History 27 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 27–42. On the nature of this council's evidence, see Trumbore Jones, "Discovering the Aquitanian Church."

at Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers by rebuilding its defenses. He also restored the monastery of Saint-Maixent and completed the fortifications that encircled it.⁵⁶ It is likely that Ebles's securing of these houses was partially inspired by political considerations: at the time, his brother, Count William Tow-Head, was attempting to extend and secure the power of their family over Poitou. It could only have aided William's efforts if Ebles rebuilt and fortified religious houses such as Saint-Michel-en-l'Erm, which lay in a coastal region where the comital power was weak in this period.⁵⁷ In another case, Frotier II of Poitiers began an account of his work at the monastery of Saint-Cyprien by recounting that he "rebuilt the church of Saint Mary which is situated on the river Clain, in which I placed with honor the body of the blessed martyr Cyprian, with the counsel of the elders of the church of Saint Peter."⁵⁸ In cases of episcopal foundations of new houses, of course, the church and the structures needed to house the community had to be built. The foundation charter of Saint-Léger in Cognac, for example, describes how Bishop Arnald of Périgueux and his nephews first constructed a wooden church on the site, to serve while the monastery was being built.⁵⁹ Bishops thus brought to the communities they rebuilt not only the spiritual authority to make changes in lifestyle and commission privileges, but also the wealth and influence to construct or reconstruct buildings and defenses.

Having built (or rebuilt) and fortified these communities, bishops turned to the task of restoring and increasing their holdings. At Saint-Maixent, Ebles of Limoges attempted to reassemble the lands that had

⁵⁶ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47); *Saint-Maixent* 23 (pp. 35–37).

⁵⁷ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47); see also *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 84–85. A charter of questionable authenticity reiterates that Ebles rebuilt Saint-Michel after the depredations of the Normans: *Gallia Christiana* 2:Instrumenta 408–10. The area around Saint-Michel had suffered badly during the Norman invasions and remained particularly vulnerable to ongoing attacks in later years. Ademar of Chabannes recorded that around 1010, Normans kidnapped Viscountess Emma of Limoges when she went on pilgrimage to Saint-Michel: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.44 (p. 164). As Françoise Coutansais ("Les monastères du Poitou," pp. 16–17) and Jean Verdon ("Le monachisme," p. 238) point out, the rebuilding and fortification of Saint-Michel would have given the comital family a base from which to survey the movements of pillaging bands in this troubled area.

⁵⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 183 (p. 117): "Igitur ego Frotherius, Dei gratia Pictavensis ecclesie episcopus, divina gratia inspiratus, reedificans ecclesiam beate Marie, que est sita super alveum Clini, in qua corpus beati Cypriani martiris cum consilio seniorum ecclesie Sancti Petri honorifice posui..."

⁵⁹ In Marvaud, *Études historiques*, pp. 48–49, n. 1.

previously belonged to the monastery and had been lost, in part by searching through the documents of the house to find records of past donations. Having found them, he presumably had to remove these properties from the possession of those who had taken them over in the interim. Undoubtedly the fact that Ebles had the support of his brother and other powerful men, who appeared as witnesses to the charter commemorating Ebles's work, would have aided his reclamation efforts.⁶⁰ Bishops also supplemented their foundations and restorations with gifts. Arnald of Périgueux and his nephews gave lands, incomes, fishing rights, and other assets to the church they had founded at Cognac; furthermore, they allowed men who held land from them to transfer it to the monastery.⁶¹ Frotier of Poitiers gave properties to the restored house of Saint-Cyprien from both his personal lands and those of the cathedral.⁶² Similarly, Radulf of Périgueux expanded the holdings of the church of Saint-Astier.⁶³ Finally, Hilduin of Limoges gave gifts to the monastery of Saint-Martin, which were supplemented by a gift from his brother, the abbot of Saint-Martial. According to the chronicle of Pierre Coral, however, Hilduin died with his work at Saint-Martin incomplete: at his death "[Hilduin] left this [monastery of] Martin poor and small, because if he had lived longer, he would have given many things to us, as the ancients said."⁶⁴ Bishops also provided their new or rebuilt establishments with relics, which carried spiritual authority and prestige as well as the protection of the saint. Frotier of Poitiers brought the body of Cyprian to the house of Saint-Cyprien as part of his restoration effort, while Hilduin of Limoges acquired the relics of

⁶⁰ *Saint-Maixent* 23 (p. 37).

⁶¹ In Marvaud, *Études historiques*, pp. 48–49, n. 1.

⁶² *Saint-Cyprien* 3 (pp. 4–5), 4 (pp. 5–7), 65 (pp. 58–60), and 183 (p. 117). See chapter 6 for more on Frotier's donations, as well as those of Turpio of Limoges to Saint-Augustin (Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 [pp. 27–29]) and Roho of Angoulême to Saint-Amant (*Saint-Amant* 2 [pp. 92–94] and 3 [pp. 94–95]).

⁶³ The *Notitia de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, which was written at Saint-Astier in the first quarter of the twelfth century (Laharie, "Évêques et société," p. 347), claims that Radulf expanded the holdings of the church (p. 221). The *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis* (p. 738) claimed that Radulf rebuilt the church, but this directly contradicts Radulf's own statement in his charter (Saint-Astier; see above n. 48) that it was a tenth-century bishop of Toulouse, Islo (r. 974–986), who rebuilt the church.

⁶⁴ Pierre Coral, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin," p. 387: "Anno M XIII D[omi]nus Hildoinus obiit in vigilia Nativitatis Beati Ioannis, et hunc Martinum pauperem et modicum reliquit, quia si vixisset diu, plura nobis dedisset sicut dicebant antiqui." It is not clear who these *antiqui* were; the term may refer to written sources or to the memory of members of the community.

Saint Justus for Saint-Martin.⁶⁵ We might also speculate that bishops were involved in returning Aquitanian relics that had been removed due to threats from Vikings or other forces to their original homes.

Once they had founded or rebuilt a religious house and restored its possessions, bishops took steps to ensure that their beneficence would be preserved in future. Threats might come from their own successors in the episcopal office, whom they often entreated to respect their arrangements. Turpio of Limoges had harsh words for any future bishops who disturbed the monastery of Saint-Augustin, warning that they would be consigned to torment.⁶⁶ Alboin of Poitiers implored his successors to respect the donations that he and his predecessor, Frothier II, had given to Saint-Cyprien, while Hildegard of Limoges backed his request with the specter of excommunication.⁶⁷ Many bishops included penalty clauses in the documents relating to their restorations and foundations, which threatened anyone—not just future bishops—who might later trespass on the communities or their property. Radulf of Périgueux pointed out that anyone who disturbed his work at Saint-Astier would be struck with excommunication, reminding his audience that he possessed the power of binding and loosing passed down from Saint Peter.⁶⁸

In addition to composing their own privileges or penalty clauses to protect these houses, bishops assembled witnesses who could later testify to the arrangements that had been made. Frothier II of Poitiers, for example, gathered men and women to witness the consecration of the church of Saint-Cyprien and the enumeration of its properties.⁶⁹ These witnesses, who included Count William Tow-Head, two viscounts, and high-ranking members of the cathedral clergy, would presumably act thereafter to ensure the continued observance of the stipulations

⁶⁵ *Saint-Cyprien* 183 (p. 117). For Hilduin and Saint Justus, see Pierre Coral, in Becquet, “Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin,” p. 388. On the importance of the acquisition of relics by new houses, see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 75–78.

⁶⁶ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (p. 29).

⁶⁷ For Alboin, see *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 60); for Hildegard, see Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (p. 36).

⁶⁸ Saint-Astier (see above n. 48): “Si qui vero hoc nostrum praeceptum ausi temerario praesumpserint ex auctoritate sanctae et individuae trinitatis sanctique petri apostolorum principis in quem et per quem quamvis indignis nobis potestas data est ligandi atque solvendi, sint anathematizati...”

⁶⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7). Many of the witnesses to the ceremony, including Count William, the viscounts, the archbishop of Tours, and the archdeacon and provost of the cathedral, also signed Frothier’s gifts of churches at Milly (*Saint-Cyprien* 118 [p. 87]) and Saint-Maixent le Petit (*Saint-Cyprien* 183 [p. 117]).

made in the charters. Further, Frotier emphasized that his actions were made with the permission of his family and of secular and ecclesiastical powers, in an attempt to thwart anyone who might try to challenge the grants. A number of episcopal charters show bishops ensuring protection for a house by gaining the permission of their relatives or other eminent local men. Radulf of Périgueux issued a privilege for Saint-Astier in the presence of other bishops and of lay magnates, who would presumably act as witnesses should a dispute arise challenging the rights of the house.⁷⁰ In a charter for Saint-Augustin, Turpio of Limoges stated that he rebuilt the monastery with the consent of his family and of various powerful men from the region, while elsewhere, he asserted that King Raoul and Count William III of Poitou supported, or indeed ordered, his actions.⁷¹ These statements not only show that powerful lay or ecclesiastical men might spring to the defense of a community after its patron's death, but also indicate the potential sources of those threats, which included the successors of a bishop—in blood or in office—who resented the alienation of assets to a given house.

In addition to invoking witnesses and their own powers in their charters, bishops also sought the protection of other authorities, both spiritual and secular, for their arrangements. In one such case, Frotier II of Poitiers acquired or confected a false papal privilege to solidify the position of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien. This document opens Saint-Cyprien's cartulary and purports to have been issued by Pope John XI, who was pope at the time of Frotier's restoration of the monastery.⁷² The document claims that Frotier sent legates to the pope, asking that he confirm the privilege given to Saint-Cyprien. The pope responded by stipulating that the monks should be left to serve God without being troubled by anyone, and that no one could claim any obedience from them, except for a limited number of prayers for private

⁷⁰ Saint-Astier (see above n. 48): Radulf opens his charter with a list of those who consented to the gift, both clerics and laymen, and the document is signed by a number of witnesses, including King Robert the Pious.

⁷¹ Becquet, *Actes*, nos. 5 and 6 (pp. 27–29).

⁷² *Saint-Cyprien* 1 (pp. 1–2); JL 3592. A critical edition and commentary are found in Zimmermann 63 (pp. 105–6), who asserts that the charter is false, which is also clear from the form in which it was written. The editor of the charters dated it to 931–936/ca. 933, while Zimmermann dated it to 931–935. Given that we know that Frotier's restoration of Saint-Cyprien took place after his return to the bishopric, which occurred after the death of Count Ebles Manzer sometime in 934, we can probably narrow the date of this document to 934–935. On Frotier's conflict with Ebles Manzer and his return to the episcopate, see above, chapter 3, pp. 68–70.

individuals and for the “congregation of Saint Peter.” Why would Frotier have created or commissioned such a charter? Perhaps he sent legates to the pope requesting a privilege, and, receiving a negative response or no response, decided to manufacture the desired document. Or perhaps he did not even send a request, believing that while the document itself was valuable, it did not need to be genuine, because any aid for Saint-Cyprien was more likely to come from the existence of the charter rather than from any direct intervention from Rome.⁷³ The creation of the document suggests that having a sign of papal approval—genuine or false—was valuable in Aquitaine in the 930s. Unlike certain other papal privileges for Poitevin monasteries, this document did not specifically curtail the rights of bishops over Saint-Cyprien, although presumably bishops were included in the general prohibition against imposing obligations on the monastery; the lack of a limit on episcopal power in the privilege for Saint-Cyprien may serve as further proof that the privilege was created in the episcopal circle.⁷⁴

Ebles of Limoges, on the other hand, turned to the king of France to help ensure the future of Saint-Hilaire. In the company of his brother, Count William Tow-Head, among others, Ebles approached King Louis IV to request a privilege for the collegiate house during the king’s stay in Poitiers early in January of 942. On 5 January, the king issued a charter acceding to the request and confirming the possessions of Saint-Hilaire, which had previously been laid out in a document issued by his predecessor, King Odo, in 889–890.⁷⁵ Louis’s privilege enumerated the estates and churches held by Saint-Hilaire and granted the full income from these lands to the canons. It also reiterated the canons’ possession

⁷³ It is also possible that this privilege was created at a later time, when a relationship with the papacy might yield more concrete results. The earliest copy of the privilege is found in the cartulary of Saint-Cyprien (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 10122), which was written in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries; the document could potentially, therefore, have been forged at any point between Frotier’s restoration and the creation of the cartulary. Zimmermann and others, however, have been convinced that the forgery dated to the reign of Frotier II.

⁷⁴ In contrast, see the privilege for Charroux (dated 975–983) addressed to Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers (Zimmermann 238 [pp. 473–74]) or John XIX’s privilege for the church of Lusignan (dated 1024–1033), made in part at the request of Bishop Isembert I (Zimmermann 555 [pp. 1048–49]). For more on these privileges, see below, pp. 176–79.

⁷⁵ Louis’s charter: Lauer, ed., *Recueil des actes de Louis IV*, no. 18 (pp. 45–47); also printed in *Saint-Hilaire* 19 (pp. 23–24). King Odo’s charter: *Saint-Hilaire* 9 (pp. 12–13). On Louis’s time in Poitiers, see Philippe Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV d’Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1900), pp. 75–76.

of the land and houses inside and outside their newly-built walls and gave them the freedom to do what they wished with them, with the exception that they could not permanently transfer them to outsiders. Finally, Louis forbade any count, public official, or other interloper to enter the lands. As was true of papal authority in the case of the privilege for Saint-Cyprien, it is questionable whether the king (given the realities of tenth-century French royal power) would have been able to intervene directly to enforce compliance with this document. Nonetheless, it seems that William and Ebles valued the prestige of the royal privilege for their house, just as Froter may have gone to some lengths to assert papal approbation for his monastery.⁷⁶

A final task for bishops who founded or renovated religious houses was to establish or reform the religious life in the community. When a bishop founded a house, he had the opportunity to supervise the choice of its rule and custom, while a prelate who restored a community might make similar choices. Turpio of Limoges, for example, placed the church of Saint-Augustin in the hands of monks and of the first abbot, Martin, "in order that the holy rule might be observed there incessantly."⁷⁷ Turpio stated explicitly that the oratory of Saint-Augustin and the prayers conducted there were to be controlled by the monks, and he gave them authority over offices that pertained to the sacred ministry, such as the cantor and lector.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Other bishops shared the desire to acquire papal and royal protection for their monasteries. King Robert the Pious purportedly signed the charter of Radulf of Périgueux for Saint-Astier, for example ("Signum regis Rotberti Anno regni eius XXV ab incarnatione vero domini anno millesimo XIII"). Hilduin of Limoges, meanwhile, sought papal and royal protection for his restored house of Saint-Martin, according to a later chronicle account: Pierre Coral, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin," p. 387.

⁷⁷ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 5 (p. 27): "Est autem suprascripta ecclesia sita in prospectu Lemovicensis civitatis supra Vingenam fluvium, quam tradens tradeo in monachorum manibus, Martino videlicet abbati ad construendum monasterium, quatenus illic sancta regula indesinenter custodiatur..." Jean Becquet and others have argued that this was the same Abbot Martin who became abbot of Saint-Cyprien when it was restored by Bishop Froter II of Poitiers around the same time, and who would later reform Saint-Jean d'Angély and Jumièges. See nn. 80–81 below, and Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Augustin," pp. 358–59; Coutansais, "Les monastères du Poitou," p. 18. Callahan, "Benedictine Monasticism," also attributes the abbacies of Brantôme and Saint-Cybard of Angoulême to Martin (pp. 46–47). As for the rule followed at Saint-Augustin, Bernard Gui reported that the monastery was governed by the Benedictine Rule from the time of Turpio's restoration; Turpio's own document refers only to the "holy rule": see Bernard Gui, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Augustin," pp. 374–75.

⁷⁸ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (p. 29).

For several reasons, we need to treat these accounts with care. First, as I discussed above, the documentary record shows that religious life reappeared at certain establishments long before the episcopal restorations. Bishops might still have increased the size of the community and altered or regularized its observance, but in most cases they were not called upon to repopulate an empty house. Second, the information in contemporary sources about episcopal restoration of religious life is often very thin, only supplemented by later evidence. For example, it was Ademar of Chabannes, writing decades after the events, who reported erroneously that Ebles placed canons at Saint-Hilaire, which had been a monastery until the Norman invasions.⁷⁹ Similarly, the sources concerning Frotier II's work at Saint-Cyprien that date from his reign say nothing about changes to the monastic life there;⁸⁰ some scholars have nonetheless attempted to link the restoration of the monastery with the reforming house of Saint-Savin sur Gartempe, which had been indirectly involved with the observance established at Cluny in 909.⁸¹ There is evidence that in the first years of the eleventh century Saint-Cyprien fell under the authority of Cluny, but whether that link came through Saint-Savin and was established at the time of Frotier's restoration remains unresolved.⁸² The fact that information about changes in religious observance only comes in later sources in these two cases does not necessarily mean that it was inaccurate: although

⁷⁹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47); see above, pp. 154–55.

⁸⁰ Two later charters do claim that Frotier established a “flock of monks” at Saint-Cyprien: *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 58–61) and 191 (pp. 124–26).

⁸¹ Saint-Savin was given to Benedict of Aniane by Emperor Louis the Pious (*Vita S. Benedicti Anianae*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 [p. 214]), and it continued to be a center of reform after Benedict's death. In the tenth century, Saint-Savin reformed Saint-Martin d'Autun and Baume; a man named Berno, who may have been a monk of Saint-Savin or of Saint-Martin, became abbot of Baume and later the first abbot of Cluny. For more on theories about the influence of Saint-Savin on Poitevin monasteries, included shared abbots, see Coutansais, “Les monastères du Poitou,” pp. 15 and 18; Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:96; Robert Favreau, “Les inscriptions de l'église de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 19 (1976), 9–37 at pp. 9–12; Daniel Callahan, “Benedictine Monasticism,” pp. 40, 42, 46–48. Each of these theories is lacking with regard to primary evidence, in my opinion—for a full review of the historiography, see Anna E. Trumbore, “Relations between Bishops and Religious Houses,” pp. 252–54 at n. 64.

⁸² In 1004, Abbot Abbo of Fleury wrote a letter to Abbot Odilo of Cluny complaining of problems in discipline that he had witnessed at Saint-Cyprien when he visited the house in the course of a journey to Gascony: PL 139:438–39. In this letter, Abbo made reference to the fact that Saint-Cyprien was under Odilo's authority at this time, but he did not elaborate on when or how Saint-Cyprien had come under Cluniac sway.

religious life had recommenced at both Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Cyprien before the episcopal restorations, the bishops could nonetheless have made important changes in the observance at these houses. It is striking, however, that the surviving charters of Frotier and Ebles focus on matters such as construction, income, and protection, rather than the conduct of religious life. This may be because these more practical matters were the most pressing concern for these houses. It is also possible that the bishops did not care to change the regimes already established at the community. It seems unlikely, given episcopal authority at religious communities in this time and place, that the bishops would have hesitated due to any qualms about their right to alter the lifestyle of the community if they deemed it necessary.

Indeed, bishops did intervene in the religious life at existing houses, either by eliminating lay influence or imposing a particular observance. For example, Hildegard of Limoges removed the monastery of Uzerche from lay control and instituted observance of the Benedictine Rule.⁸³ Similarly, the bishops at the council of Limoges in 1031 undertook the reform of the house of Beaulieu, which was ruled at the time by a lay abbot. According to the proceedings of the council composed by Ademar of Chabannes, the monks of Beaulieu regaled the assembled clergy with the ignominious history of lay control at their abbey and then asked the bishops to choose a suitable abbot for them according to the Rule. The lay abbot, Hugh of Castelnau, acquiesced to the will of the council, which arranged to replace him with a worthier candidate.⁸⁴

An arresting example of episcopal alteration of the observance at a religious house came at Eymoutiers in the Limousin. As I discussed above, Hildegard of Limoges transformed the house of canons at Eymoutiers into a monastery, purportedly with the aid of monks brought from Baume. According to the chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes, Hildegard's brother and successor, Hilduin, later returned canons to the house: "However, Bishop Hilduin, with the devil urging him, destroyed the monastery of Saint-Étienne at Eymoutiers, which Hildegard had elegantly arranged with a great crowd of monks three years before he died, and [Hilduin] returned canons there."⁸⁵ A later description of Hilduin's action comes

⁸³ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (p. 35).

⁸⁴ Mansi 19:537; Becquet, "Le concile," pp. 44–46; Beitscher, "Monastic Reform," pp. 199–202.

⁸⁵ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 157): "Alduinus autem episcopus monasterium Sancti Stephani Agentense, quod Hildegarius ornate disposuerat in magna caterva

in the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, which blamed not only the devil for this decision but also the displaced canons, who saw an opportunity in Hildegard's death to reclaim their lost house. The canons came before the new bishop, who was known to be more malleable than his brother, lamenting their misfortunes and sowing suspicions in the bishop's mind about the monks at Eymoutiers. Hilduin was convinced by their pleading to evict the monks and return the house to the canons.⁸⁶ Hilduin may have acted in this way because he saw an advantage in changing the lifestyle of the house; it has been suggested that monasteries made more powerful enemies for a bishop than houses of canons.⁸⁷ It is also possible that Hilduin reversed his brother's decision out of principle, rather than practical considerations. He may have felt that his brother's actions had been unjust in depriving the canons of their community, or that Hildegard's apparent conviction that the monastic life was preferable to that of the canons was incorrect. Although monastic chronicles like those so critical of Hilduin tend to view the transition from the lifestyle of canons to monks as a clear improvement, that sentiment was not necessarily universal.⁸⁸ Whatever prompted Hilduin's actions, his case and others like it underline the bishops' authority over religious houses in this period. While contemporary figures such as Abbo of Fleury might have objected to a bishop's interference in community life in this way, the chronicles from Aquitaine do not mention any such qualms; when they critique a bishop's involvement, it is the particular choice he made regarding monastic life that they object to, rather than his right to interfere at all.

In summary, restorations of religious houses in tenth-century Aquitaine followed a pattern: bishops reconstructed and often fortified the community, reassembled and increased its holdings, provided it with future security, and occasionally transformed its religious life. Cases of restoration by bishops are far more common in this period than those of episcopal foundations of a new house. This is in part because destruction in the ninth century necessitated widespread restoration efforts, although the devastation of that period should not

monachorum, per triennium antequam moreretur, suadente diabolo, detruxit, et ibi canonicos restituit. Hac de noxa Lemovicam intra urbem monacos in ecclesia Sancti Martini regulae subditos adgregare curavit."

⁸⁶ *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, p. 23.

⁸⁷ Parisse, "Princes laïques et/ou moines," in *Il secolo di ferro*, pp. 478–82.

⁸⁸ See below, chapter 6, pp. 199–200, and Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion."

be overemphasized. It is also true that the sources seem to prefer to portray episcopal action as the revitalization of life at an ancient house originally founded by saints or other figures worthy of reverence, rather than as the beginning of something entirely new.⁸⁹ On occasion, bishops also reformed the religious life at an existing house by freeing the community from lay influence or changing its observance. These wide-ranging activities underline both the nature of episcopal authority and the lack, in tenth-century Aquitaine, of sharp lines drawn between secular and religious clergy. A consideration of the supporting roles bishops played in changes made by other individuals—both clerics and laymen—at such communities brings an even deeper sense of the profound involvement of bishops in the functioning and welfare of religious houses in their dioceses.

Episcopal Roles in the Foundations of Others

In the autumn of 897, Bishop Anselm of Limoges issued a charter in which he consecrated the chapel of Saint-Pierre de Favars at the request of its founder, Abbot Garulfus of Beaulieu. Anselm noted that the new church did not possess enough property to allow its priest to live canonically from its income, and so the bishop rearranged the estates held by various neighboring churches in order to achieve an adequate income for Favars.⁹⁰ Anselm's charter opened:

The sacred authority of canons orders, and the power of Roman bishops ordains, that all matters of the churches are in the power of the bishops, and that which [bishops] establish canonically, either concerning churches which have to be consecrated or [those] destroyed [that] have to be rebuilt, and how clerics, established in these churches, can live, whatever [bishops] choose and establish for the better, should be held firm and valid for all time.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Indeed, the only episcopal foundation in Aquitaine in this period (for which the foundation documents survive) that is not placed in the context of rebuilding a previous community is that of Arnald of Périgueux at Cognac.

⁹⁰ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 4bis (pp. 25–26); also *Beaulieu* 13 (pp. 30–32), dated 4 November 897. Anselm's actions were mentioned in another Beaulieu charter given in the early twelfth century by his successor, Eustorgius: *Beaulieu* 170 (pp. 237–38).

⁹¹ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 4bis (pp. 25–26): “Sacra canonum jubet auctoritas et Romanorum praesulum sancit potestas ut omnia aecclesiasticarum negotia in episcoporum potestate consistant et quod canonice ordinaverint aut in aecclesiis consecrandis aut destructis iterum reedificandis, et qualiter clerici in eisdem aecclesiis constituti

Anselm articulates the belief that churches in a given diocese are subject to the supervision of their bishop, who was responsible for both the physical well-being of the institution and the lifestyle carried out there. Anselm here refers to a chapel, but the same principle applied to regular communites, both in the cases discussed above in which a bishop initiated rebuilding or reform, and in instances such as this, in which Anselm intervened at the request of another. When asked, a bishop might act to support the foundation, restoration, or reform of a religious house in several ways. Bishops offered guidance in founding houses and approved gifts to ensure their economic viability. They also participated in foundation or consecration ceremonies, which might involve symbolic acts such as pacing the perimeters of the new church or placing stones in the foundation. Their presence and authority also contributed to the future security of the community: bishops requested royal or papal protection for a new house, issued privileges themselves, or agreed to oversee the welfare of the house in future.

Laymen often came to their bishop to ask for advice and support in the foundation of a religious house. In the late 970s, for example, Hildegard, the widowed viscountess of Thouars, founded the collegiate church at Airvault, which lies on the river Thoué between Poitiers and Thouars.⁹² A later charter described how Hildegard, “with the advice of the late lord Bishop Gilbert of the Poitevins,” installed canons in the newly-built house, so that “divine worship might be done more virtuously in this same church, and so that the goods conferred on this church might be administered worthily.”⁹³ The language of this document omits any detail about Gilbert’s exact role in Hildegard’s foundation, but it is clear that he was consulted. Similarly, Bishop Islo of Saintes gave advice to a man named Wardradus in his efforts to found the monastery of Bassac.⁹⁴

vivere possint quicquid melius elegerint et statuerint firma habeantur omni tempore, et rata.”

⁹² The foundation of Airvault is described in a 1094 charter from the house (*Gallia Christiana* 2:1386–87), in which Bishop Peter II of Poitiers and Viscount Aimeri III of Thouars (Hildegard’s son) reformed the community and placed it under the *Rule of Augustine*.

⁹³ *Gallia Christiana* 2:1386: “Ut autem in eadem ecclesia ministerium posset honestius fieri, et digne tractarentur bona ecclesiae collata, consilio domini Gisleberti bonae memoriae viri Pictavorum episcopi canonicos in ipsa constituit...”

⁹⁴ For the foundation charter of Bassac, see *Gallia Christiana* 2:Instrumenta 472–73. Further commentary comes in Jules Denyse, “L’abbaye royale de Saint-Étienne de Bassac,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* 5th series, 3

Bishops were often called upon to participate in foundation or consecration ceremonies at a new religious house.⁹⁵ For example, Islo of Saintes traced out the perimeter of the new monastery at Bassac, which, according to the charter issued by its founder, was a customary duty for the bishop.⁹⁶ In a document issued in 1060, Heiterius, castellan of Barbezieux, recalled that his father, Alduin, had decades earlier founded a house dedicated to the Virgin and had requested that Godfrey II of Bordeaux be present at the foundation ceremony. The archbishop placed three stones in the foundation of the building to symbolize his approval of Alduin's action.⁹⁷ In this case, the archbishop's actions symbolized not only general episcopal duties, but also a specific relationship between the see, the canons of the house of Saint-Seurin, and the lands and community at Barbezieux. That relationship was challenged when Alduin, as an elderly man, unjustly denied both the archbishop and the canons of Saint-Seurin their rights over the new

(1880), 3–97, esp. pp. 3–8; Zimmermann 519 (pp. 986–87). Two chronicles also mention the foundation of the house: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.59 (p. 180); *Historia pontificum*, c. 23, pp. 15–16. The *Gallia Christiana* dates the document describing the foundation to 1003 and argues that it is a forgery. Zimmermann, by contrast, contends that the foundation date of the house was 1017, and he suggests that given the separate confirmations of the foundation of the house in the chronicles, we should accept that the foundation occurred, but not necessarily in the elaborate manner (involving a gathering in Rome of many bishops and lay lords) described in the *Gallia* document. The church of Bassac had been among the holdings of the monastery of Saint-Cybard at least since the ninth century, according to a privilege given to Saint-Cybard by Charles the Bald in September 852: Tessier et al., eds., *Recueil des actes de Charles II*, no. 149 (1:395–99); *Saint-Cybard* 31 (pp. 1–4). The earliest copy of this document is from the late twelfth century, found in the cartulary of Saint-Cybard, where it is mislabeled as a privilege given by Charlemagne. This cartulary copy of the privilege contains many later interpolations, including one that describes Wardradus's founding of the monastery of Bassac: *Saint-Cybard* 31 (pp. 2–3); Tessier et al., 1:398, note. For commentary on the copies of this document and the various interpolations, see Tessier et al., 1:395–97.

⁹⁵ A bishop's presence was necessary for the consecration of a church. On the form of this ceremony in the early Middle Ages, see Brian Repsher, *The Rite of Church Dedication in the Early Medieval Era* (Lewiston, NY, 1998); Adam J. Kosto, "Reasons for Assembly in Catalonia and Aragon, 900–1200," in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 7 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 133–49. For an overview of the bishop's role in founding and consecrating churches throughout the central Middle Ages, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu: Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge (v. 800–v. 1200)* (Paris, 2006), esp. pp. 539–74.

⁹⁶ *Gallia Christiana* 2:Instrumenta 472.

⁹⁷ Jean-Auguste Brutails, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1897), no. 12 (p. 13). The foundation charter for Barbezieux is found in *Gallia Christiana* 2: Instrumenta 270 (dated to ca. 1030–1040); it also recounts Godfrey's placement of the foundation stones of the community.

church by attempting to donate it to Cluny at the time he joined the Burgundian monastery himself. Heiterius's charter was issued to rectify this, in recognition both of the spiritual and temporal authority of the archbishops and canons over the community at Barbezieux and of the fact that he—and all castellans of Barbezieux—held their lordship from the archbishop and canons.⁹⁸

Islo of Saintes and Godfrey II of Bordeaux joined Bishops Arnald of Périgueux and Roho of Angoulême in 1029 to consecrate the church of Saint-Paul at Bouteville, at the request of Count Geoffrey of Angoulême. Geoffrey recounted the actions of the bishops:

This arrangement was pleasing to my friends and faithful men, and with the counsel of lord Abbot Iterius, I demanded the approval and help of my neighboring bishops, that is of lord Godfrey, archbishop of the holy mother church of Bordeaux, of lord Islo, bishop of Saintes, of lord Arnald, bishop of Périgueux, and of lord Roho, bishop of Angoulême; with them brought together in once place, before they turned the foot to the grace of consecration, they said that in no way could the church be blessed in a catholic manner, unless under the condition of a gift.⁹⁹

The assembled bishops thus demanded that the church be endowed before they would consecrate it. The strange phrase “turn the foot to the grace of consecration” may refer to a ceremony tracing the perimeter of the new house similar to that in which Islo participated at Bassac. In a similar case, the bishops of Aquitaine acted as a group to consecrate the new monastery built by Duke William Iron-Arm and his wife, Emma, at Maillezais in 989. The bishops came directly from the council at Charroux and consecrated the house as a group. Gilbert of Poitiers, meanwhile, helped Emma bury relics secretly in the church.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Another document from a later lord of Barbezieux reiterated their relationship with the house of Saint-Seurin and the archbishops: Brutails, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale Saint-Seurin* no. 13 (pp. 14–15).

⁹⁹ Marvaud, ed., “Chartes relatives au prieuré de Bouteville,” no. 2 (pp. 353–54): “Placuit haec convenientia amicis et fidelibus meis, et una cum consilio domni Iterii, abbatis, expetivi suffragia et adiutorium vicinorum meorum episcoporum, domini videlicet Gotafredi, archiepiscopi sanctae matris Ecclesiae Burdigalensis, et domini Isonis, episcopi Sanctonensis, et domini Arnaldi, episcopi Petragoricensis, et domini Rohonis, episcopi Engolismensis; quibus in unum conventis, antequam ad consecrationis gratiam pedem verterent, dixerunt nullo modo ecclesiam catholice posse benedici, nisi sub nomine dotis.” The second council of Braga (572 CE) required that a church possess a charter of endowment before the bishop could consecrate it: Kosto, “Reasons for Assembly,” p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ Pon and Chauvin, eds. and trans., *La fondation de l'abbaye*, pp. 108–9.

Bishops were also involved with measures taken to ensure the subsequent security of religious houses. First, they might request that more eminent authorities, such as the pope or the king, grant privileges for a house. Isembert I of Poitiers, for example, participated in the foundation of two churches by the castellan Hugh of Lusignan: the first, dedicated to the Virgin, stood within view of Hugh's castle at Lusignan, while the other, dedicated to Saint Martin, lay at Couhé. Five documents concerning these foundations survive, including royal and papal privileges for Notre-Dame de Lusignan and a royal privilege for Saint-Martin de Couhé.¹⁰¹ Hugh's churches received these privileges due in large part to the activities of Isembert and of Duke William the Great.¹⁰² The papal privilege for the church at Lusignan is particularly illuminating with regard to Isembert's role in the proceedings. The document reports that Hugh wrote to Pope John XIX asking for protection for his new monastery, and that John responded by removing the church from all domination except that of the monastery of Nouaillé.¹⁰³ This exemption meant that Notre-Dame de Lusignan owed nothing to the cathedral of Poitiers or the bishop. The pope stated that he established this exemption "having been asked and consulted by Isembert, bishop of Poitiers, through his letters."¹⁰⁴ It seems, therefore, that Isembert did not oppose this arrangement, despite the consequent loss of income for himself and the diocese.

Why did Isembert, a strong ally of Duke William, support the efforts of a vassal who was, by his own account, often a thorn in the side of the

¹⁰¹ *Nouaillé*, nos. 103–107 (pp. 171–79). Documents 104, 106, and 107 are dated to 1025; 103 is dated 1023–1030, and 105 to 1024–1033. These documents thus fall exactly in the period in which the disputes between Hugh and William V of Aquitaine, which were recorded in the agreement known as the *Conventum*, occurred (the *Conventum* is dated by various scholars to ca. 1022–ca. 1030). An edition is found in Jane Martindale, "Notes and Documents: *Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comes et Hugonem Chiliarchum*," pp. 541–48. For a full bibliography surrounding this document, see chapter 3, n. 99.

¹⁰² William asked King Robert the Pious, who stayed in Tours for a time in 1025, for documents confirming the right of any donor to give gifts to Notre-Dame or to Saint-Martin and the right of those houses to possess the donations as allods: *Nouaillé* 106 (pp. 176–77) and 107 (pp. 178–79). In both documents it is mentioned that in founding the two churches, Hugh acted with the consent of Bishop Isembert.

¹⁰³ JL 4073; Zimmermann 555 (pp. 1048–49); also printed as *Nouaillé* 105 (pp. 174–76). Zimmermann comments that although the document's style is somewhat unusual, its authenticity is not in doubt.

¹⁰⁴ Zimmermann 555 (p. 1049): "quod idem ab Isemberto presule Pictavorum rogati per litteras suas et consulti constituimus."

duke? For that matter, why did Duke William aid Hugh's enterprise, given the well-known conflicts that occurred between the two? Some scholars have assumed that Hugh and William had put their disputes behind them by the time of these foundations, while others have mistrusted the seeming harmony between them shown in these charters.¹⁰⁵ Still others, more plausibly, have emphasized that the relationship between Hugh and William moved from dispute to alliance and back again, depending on a variety of considerations.¹⁰⁶ Given this latter model, we need not dismiss William's actions in these documents nor see them as a watershed in his relations with Hugh; he may have acted in this case as part of an attempt to settle a particular dispute with Hugh or for other reasons. Bishop Isembert's encouragement of the papal privilege that exempted Notre-Dame from duties to his own church may thus have been inspired by William's wishes, by other political considerations, or by pious motivations.

Isembert's acceptance of limits to his authority over a religious house in his diocese may nonetheless seem surprising, given the overall emphasis on episcopal authority over religious houses in Aquitaine in this period. As Amy Remensnyder has commented concerning other areas of France, however, it was not uncommon for a bishop to accept such decrees.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Isembert's predecessor, Gilbert, was faced with a similar situation with regard to a privilege purporting to come from Pope Benedict VII for the monastery of Charroux, which was modeled on an earlier decree on behalf of the house issued by John VIII in 878. In this document, Benedict confirmed various rights of the monastery, as well as its independence from a number of powers who might interfere in the running of the monastery or alienate its goods.¹⁰⁸ Kings,

¹⁰⁵ Sidney Painter ("The Lords of Lusignan," pp. 32–33) argues that William and Hugh appear to have resolved their differences by the time of the foundation of these churches. Barthélemy (*L'an mil*, p. 342), on the other hand, mentions the documents in passing, citing the contrast between the friendly relations displayed therein with the disputes described in the *Conventum* as proof that individuals who appear in the same charter are not necessarily friendly; in this case, however, it was not merely a question of appearing together in the same charter, but apparently of active aid by William and Isembert of Hugh's enterprise.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, White, "Politics of Fidelity," pp. 229–30.

¹⁰⁷ Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 257–59.

¹⁰⁸ JL 3815; Zimmermann 238 (pp. 473–74); Pierre de Monsabert, ed., *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, *Archives historiques du Poitou* 39 (1910), pp. 70–72. Zimmermann dates this document to the papacy of Benedict VII (975–983), although the reign of Benedict VIII (1012–1024) also fell within the episcopacy of Gilbert. Zimmermann considers this document to be a probable

priests, counts, and their men were prohibited from carrying away the goods of the church, and there was also a general prohibition against interfering in abbatial elections. Concerning the bishop in particular, the pope decreed,

nor should the bishop of this same city or parish, unless invited by the abbot of this monastery, perform public mass there, nor should he take up temporary residence there, lest the peace of the servants of God be allowed to be upset in any way by a popular meeting, nor should [the bishop] presume to require hospitality from there, but it should remain always under apostolic protection.¹⁰⁹

Thus forbidden to bishops were not crimes but rather the exercise of their usual rights over monastic communities: to perform mass, to demand hospitality during tours of the diocese, and to take up residence in order to hold a council or for the purposes of overseeing the lifestyle of the house. The purported reason for these prohibitions is that the peace of the monastery would be disturbed by the hubbub that accompanied a bishop wherever he went.

How did Gilbert react to this limitation of his customary authority? The available evidence suggests that he offered little resistance: the main divergence between the 878 document and that supposedly issued by Benedict VII is that the latter was addressed to the bishop of Poitiers rather than the abbot of Charroux. It seems likely that the author did this either because he trusted the bishop to carry out the restrictions enclosed—and indeed, as with Isembert at Lusignan, the bishop's consent may have been acquired before the document was written—or because the author recognized that the bishop had the authority and

forgery, although its template was apparently a genuine privilege for Charroux given by John VIII in 878, which was addressed to Abbot Grunferius of Charroux: JE 3187; Monsabert, ed., *Charroux*, pp. 67–70; and *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, 2:757. Both privileges forbade bishops from holding public mass at the monastery unless invited by the abbot, and both documents prohibited the bishop from demanding hospitality at Charroux, lest the peace of the monks be disturbed. The privileges of John VIII and Benedict VII both appear in what Amy Remensnyder calls the “legendary dossier” of Charroux, which attributed the foundation of the house in part to Charlemagne and laid out its immunities from outside powers: *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 257–59.

¹⁰⁹ Zimmermann 238 (p. 474): “neque episcopus ipsius civitatis parrochie, nisi ab abbate ipsius monasterii invitatus, ibidem missas publicas agat neque sanctiones [corrected to *stationes* in one manuscript] in eodem cenobio indicet, ne servorum Dei quies quoquo modo populari conventu valeat perturbari neque paratas vel mansionaticos exinde presumat requirere, sed id sub apostolica deffensione illesum semper valeat permanere.”

capacity to make sure that others followed the decrees contained in the privilege. Either way, in limiting the power of the bishop, these documents illustrate that same power—they are the exceptions that prove the rule.

In addition to requesting royal or papal protection for a community, bishops might give privileges to new or restored houses themselves. Islo of Saintes issued a privilege for the house of Saint-Paul at Bouteville in the company of the bishops who had gathered for the consecration of that church. He threatened anyone who troubled Saint-Paul with excommunication and gave the house rights to certain incomes.¹¹⁰ Similarly, Bishop Frotier of Périgueux gave a charter for the house of Paunat in July 991, in which he described the foundation of the house, its reception of a royal privilege, its destruction by the Vikings, and its recent restoration.¹¹¹ Frotier undertook to reiterate the privileges that the house had heretofore enjoyed and called upon his successors to respect his arrangements. Finally, Gumbald of Bordeaux issued a privilege for the house of Nanteuil-en-Vallée in Poitou, probably on the occasion of its restoration.¹¹² In this charter, Gumbald stated (in a sentiment similar to that seen in Turpio of Limoges's document for Saint-Augustin) that while he was unable to participate in monastic life himself, he might at least support it at Nanteuil and thus gain some of its benefits. Gumbald forbade his successors and all laymen from interfering at Nanteuil or alienating any of its properties, although he ensured that the archbishops, their cathedral canons, and the monks of Saint-Cyprien of Poitiers (to which Nanteuil was subjected) would have influence in the election of future abbots.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Marvaud, ed., "Chartes relatifs au prieuré de Bouteville," no. 3 (pp. 357–58).

¹¹¹ René Poupardin and Antoine Thomas, "Fragments de cartulaire du monastère de Paunat (Dordogne)," *Annales du Midi* 18 (1906), 5–39 at no. 12 (pp. 28–30). There is some question over whether Paunat had been originally established by Charlemagne, and whether the name "Karolus" in this charter had been substituted for that of Hugh Capet. See Poupardin and Thomas, "Paunat," pp. 9–15 and (for later developments) Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, p. 169.

¹¹² *Saint-Cyprien* 5 (pp. 7–9). Nanteuil-en-Vallée was founded around 780; according to legend, it was founded by Charlemagne. According to certain scholars, it was destroyed by the Vikings and restored in the late tenth century. It is not clear who rebuilt it, but it does seem that Gumbald's charter was part of this effort—Gumbald makes no mention of the causes of the destruction or the initiators of restoration: Verdon, "Le monachisme," pp. 239–40. The editor of the Saint-Cyprien documents dates Gumbald's charter to 989–1010.

¹¹³ *Saint-Cyprien* 5 (pp. 7–8).

Finally, bishops participated in the plans laid out by the founder of a new house for its future functioning. In one such case from 969, Ebbo, a castellan of Poitou, issued a lengthy document explaining that he and his family, having pondered the fate of their souls, had come to the conclusion that they should give the newly-built chapel of Notre-Dame de Château-Larcher, which lay—as the name indicates—in the shadow of their castle walls, to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien. Ebbo, his wife Oda, and his son Achardus endowed the church richly and instructed that “as long as the sun shines, by order of the bishop of Poitiers and also of the abbot of the monastery of Saint-Cyprien, four monks shall live there, who shall serve God properly and justly according to the *Rule of Saint Benedict*.”¹¹⁴ Thus Bishop Peter and his successors were asked, along with the abbots of Saint-Cyprien, to ensure that the arrangement envisioned by the founders would continue in the future. Later in the charter, Ebbo pleaded with future bishops and abbots not to allow or encourage the dissipation of the house’s possessions.¹¹⁵ Further, he asked the bishops and abbots to supervise the religious life conducted at the priory and to replace unsatisfactory monks, out of concern that the benefit for his soul would be squandered by improper practices at his foundation. The bishops of Poitiers would serve, therefore, to ensure the future temporal and spiritual well-being of Ebbo’s priory, as other bishops did for houses in their respective dioceses.¹¹⁶

Aquitanian bishops thus aided the foundations and reforms of others by consecrating, protecting, or supporting these communities. In this way, the bishops asserted their rights over the houses in their dioceses and acknowledged their responsibility to ensure the quality of religious life at those communities. They also sought benefits for their own souls through association with the worthy work of foundation and reform.

¹¹⁴ *Saint-Cyprien* 401 (pp. 248–54 at p. 249): “eo videlicet tenore ut sole seculum illustrante, jussu Pictavensis episcopi nec ne abbatibus cenobii Sancti Cipriani, quatuor inibi vivant monachi, qui digne et juste militent Deo secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti...”

¹¹⁵ *Saint-Cyprien* 401 (pp. 252–53).

¹¹⁶ In other examples of episcopal participation in the arrangements of a founder, Hilduin of Limoges endorsed the privilege issued by Count Boso of the March for the house of Ahun: *Uzerche* 46 (pp. 78–79). The document was signed by Bishop Hilduin and others. Roho of Angoulême, meanwhile, assented to the request of Count William IV Taillefer of Angoulême to give land on which to relocate the monastery of Saint-Amant: *Saint-Amant* 2 (pp. 92–94).

Conclusion

Episcopal involvement in the restoration and reform of monasteries and houses of canons has wider implications for our understanding of the office of bishop in tenth-century Aquitaine. First, it is striking that bishops were active in both the material and spiritual aspects of religious houses. Bishops occupied themselves with ensuring economic stability and arranging protection for these houses against worldly threats and disturbances. They also frequently participated in the establishment or change of religious life at a community. The unique position of a bishop meant that he was able to bring both temporal power and spiritual authority to his work at a house.¹¹⁷ Care should be taken, however, not to overemphasize the dichotomy between practical and spiritual considerations. To assert that building walls to protect a religious community or ensuring its continued economic support were not considered as worthwhile or as spiritual as regularizing its observance is to ignore the fact that walls and income were crucial for the correct conduct of religious life. Ebles of Limoges, after all, was praised as a good pastor by Ademar of Chabannes in the context of a description of his work rebuilding and fortifying religious houses.¹¹⁸

With regard to bishops' motivations for these restorations and reforms, the kinds of activities explored in this chapter illustrate once again the importance of understanding the bishops in this period as simultaneously members of the lay aristocracy and the clergy. The restorations by Ebles of Limoges in Poitou, for example, were seen in older scholarship as proof of the increasing control of the church by the comital family in this period.¹¹⁹ It is more likely that the impetus for these activities was both spiritual and political. Ebles undoubtedly acted in part out of political considerations in restoring Poitevin houses, as he must have been conscious of the fact that his fortified monasteries would serve the purposes of his brother. This does not exclude the possibility that he also built those same walls out of a pious desire to protect the religious observance and holy relics of the community.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Michel Parisse emphasizes that bishops in this period were concerned with both the spiritual and worldly welfare of these houses: "Princes laïques et/ou moines," in *Il secolo di ferro*, pp. 477–79.

¹¹⁸ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47).

¹¹⁹ Marcel Garaud, "Observations sur les vicissitudes," pp. 364–66.

¹²⁰ Happily, certain scholarship in the past twenty years has moved toward a more complex picture of tenth-century French bishops: see, for example, Avril, "La fonction épiscopale" and "Observance monastique" as well as the works cited in chapter I, n. 32.

It is also worth reassessing assumptions about what contemporaries, including the bishops themselves, considered to be the duties of episcopal office with regard to religious houses in this period. The bishops presented themselves in their charters as involved in all aspects of life at these communities, both spiritual and temporal. They asserted that this behavior would bring them heavenly rewards; recall Turpio of Limoges's assurance that his work at Saint-Augustin would bring him some of the benefits of a monastic life, or Gumbald of Bordeaux's assertion that "while I cannot bear fruit for myself, occupied as I am by the business of the world, I might at least benefit myself while I foster and support those bearing and having [fruit], and I might be a partner of those good men..."¹²¹ Bishops were lauded in contemporary sources for behavior toward religious houses that drew upon various aspects of their unique position: they oversaw and improved religious life as the pastors of the diocese, but they also had the political and military power to safeguard their restorations and reforms. A careful consideration of the presentation of episcopal behavior in the sources, therefore, leads to a better understanding of what tenth century men and women in Aquitaine expected from their bishop. This is a subject we can explore further by turning to donations from bishops to religious communities.

¹²¹ For Turpio, see Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (pp. 27–29) and nn. 1–2 above; for Gumbald, see *Saint-Cyprien* 5 (pp. 7–9): "quia per me multimodis mundi negotiis occupatus fructum ferre non valeo, saltem prosit michi dum foveo et porto ferentes et habentes, particepsque bonorum illorum existam..."

CHAPTER SIX

AIDING THE SERVANTS OF FAITH: BISHOPS AND DONATIONS TO RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Like countless other medieval men and women, Bishop Ebles of Limoges gave gifts to religious houses that held special meaning for him, particularly at moments when illness and death threatened him or his relations. In the mid-960s, after the death of his brother, Count William Tow-Head of Poitou, Ebles made a generous donation to the monastery of Saint-Maixent, which he had earlier restored and ruled as abbot.¹ A decade later, having retired from the episcopate and left its duties to his foster-son and designated successor, Benedict, Ebles issued two charters for the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, which he had long served as treasurer. In the first, Ebles gave several estates to the house, while in the second he freed a serf in a large ceremony witnessed by the canons.² In the Saint-Maixent charter, Ebles showed particular concern for the soul of his brother and the consolation of his mourning nephew; in all three documents, he pondered the fate of his own soul and the possible remedies for sins committed in this life.

The nature of the evidence that survives from tenth-century Aquitaine dictates that one of the roles in which we know bishops such as Ebles best is that of donor. Acts of donation and the ties they helped to cultivate are among the most extensively researched aspects of the central Middle Ages. Building on the work of the sociologist Marcel Mauss, historians such as Stephen White and Barbara Rosenwein have explored the ways in which gifts created or perpetuated relations of mutual obligation between individuals, families, and religious institutions.³ In previous chapters, I have discussed episcopal donations to religious houses

¹ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50).

² *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50), 44 (pp. 51–52).

³ White, *Custom, Kingship, and Gifts to Saints*; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*. For an overview of historiography on gift-giving in this period, see Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach,” in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. DeJong, *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples* 11 (Leiden, 2001), pp. 123–56; and Gadi Algazi, “Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts,” in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations*

in these contexts, investigating the ways in which gifts by bishops illuminate the relations of the episcopate to the cathedral canons or other communities, the patronage of religious houses by high-ranking families, and so on. In this chapter I shall focus on the mechanics of the donations themselves, including the communities bishops chose to benefit, the sources of the land and income that they gave, and the methods they employed to protect their generosity against future encroachment. I will also use episcopal donation charters—although they have not frequently been mined for evidence of this kind—to provide insight into the reasons bishops gave gifts. Bishops often were generous at moments of personal significance, as in the case of Ebles of Limoges, or in the context of their foundation or restoration of religious houses, as I discussed in the previous chapter. The passages in which these motivations are elucidated give rare glimpses into the bishops' piety and their concerns for their souls, as well as contemporary understanding of the challenges of the episcopal office itself. Gifts given by the bishops themselves, however, represent only one aspect of episcopal involvement in donations to religious houses. As with their work in rebuilding religious communities, bishops also took on a variety of crucial secondary roles in gifts made by clerics and laymen alike, and they expected heavenly rewards for those actions. Instances in which bishops gave their permission, confirmation, and protection for grants made by contemporaries help to illustrate the full range of the bishops' authority.

Donations by Bishops: Reading Donation Charters

Bishop Jordan of Limoges and his mother, Adalgarde, issued a charter for the monastery of Saint-Martial early in the fall of 1027, in which they returned a church that their family had long held from the house. The document opened with an extended meditation on the reasons why Jordan and Adalgarde were making the donation, which stemmed from scriptural directives concerning almsgiving and the hope of receiving succor from God and the saint after death:

of Exchange, ed. Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 9–27.

[We] considered alternately our salvation and the great mercy of God, and also eternal punishment, remembering that precept of sacred scripture: "Give alms," the Lord said, "and behold, all worldly things are yours [Luke 11:41]," and elsewhere, saying, "Just as water quenches a fire, thus alms [resist sins] [Ecclesiasticus 3:33]." Wherefore, with the ears of the heart adapting freely to these and to other such divine suggestions, for the aid of our souls and those of all our relatives, so that the pious Lord, on the day of final judgment, through the intercession of the most precious bishop, our lord Martial, might allow us to avoid the avenging flames of punishment and might permit us to enjoy with him the gift of eternal joy in the house of the heavenly homeland, we concede and we give to the place of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was established in Limoges, where the body of His beloved Martial was placed by law and is venerated by the faithful, a certain church, called *Ad Muros*, that was formerly ours.⁴

Passages such as this hold both great promise and many problems for scholars.⁵ The reasons that bishops made gifts to religious houses, as expressed in charters, seem to offer a way to deepen our understanding of episcopal piety in Aquitaine in this period—a topic that, because of certain evidentiary challenges, has been difficult to explore. Tenth-century Aquitaine, unlike other regions or periods, produced no episcopal *vitae* and no *gesta episcoporum*, which would have illuminated contemporary ideals of episcopal behavior.⁶ Further, the accounts of

⁴ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (pp. 42–43): "Igitur nos, in Dei nomine, JORDANUS scilicet gratia Christi sanctae sedis Lemovicensis episcopus et mater mea nomine Adalgardis tractavimus ad invicem de salute nostra et de Dei magna misericordia simulque aeterna retributione, reminiscentes etiam illius sacrae scripturae praecepti: 'Date elemosinam, dicit Dominus, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis,' et alibi: 'Sicut aqua, inquit, extinguit ignem, ita elemosina etc.' Quapropter his atque huiusmodi divinis ammonitionibus aures cordis libenter accomodantes, pro remedio animarum nostrarum pariterque omnium parentorum nostrorum, ut pius Dominus in extremo districti examinis die per preciosissimi presulis domni nostri MARCIALIS intercessionem det nobis evadere ultrices penarum flammas ac secum perfrui concedat munere jocunditatis aeternae in caelestis patriae mansionem, gurgimus simulque donamus ad locum Domini nostri Jhesu Christi qui est fundatus Lemovicis, ubi sacratissimum corpus dilecti sui Marcialis jure repositum a fidelibus veneratur, quendam aecclesiam nostram quae vocatur *Ad Muros*."

⁵ This argument first appeared in Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion."

⁶ Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté*, pp. 34–35, 64–67 discusses the lives of Aquitanian bishop-saints written in the preceding period; the bishop's conversion to a monastic life is the major theme in these texts. For a study of the *vitae* of episcopal saints in the Ottonian kingdoms, see Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*; for an examination of German bishops using both charters and hagiographic texts, see Nightingale, "Bishop Gerard of Toul (963–94)"; for a study of bishops from the province of Narbonne using tenth-century *vitae*, see Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque*, pp. 322–29.

bishops in the contemporary Aquitanian chronicles tend to be terse: there is no equivalent of Ademar of Chabannes's lengthy panegyric to Duke William the Great for a bishop in this period, for example.⁷ Charters present one of the richest sources for an investigation into the nature of episcopal piety in this region, but any attempt to carry out such a study raises problems of interpretation. Scholars have been wary of drawing too direct a connection between the sentiments expressed in the prologues of donation charters and the intentions of an individual donor, for two reasons.⁸ First, in many cases it was not the donor but a scribe who composed the documents. Second, charters often employed formulaic language, and indeed they were often copied either from existing documents at the same house or from collections of exemplars. Consequently, studies based on charters have generally confined themselves to using the more substantive information found therein, such as the names in the witness lists, the descriptions of the properties exchanged, and so on.

Despite these reservations, recent work has reassessed certain aspects of charter evidence, asserting, for example, that it is possible to track trends in spirituality from documentary evidence.⁹ Certain diplomatists

⁷ Aquitaine did produce later works that could be called *gesta episcoporum*, including Bernard Gui, *Nomina ac gesta Lemovicensium episcoporum*; later chronicles, including the *Historia pontificum* and the *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, also tend to focus more on bishops. For the genre of *gesta episcoporum*, see Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental* 37 (Turnhout, 1981). The panegyric is found in Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.41 (pp. 161–62). For analysis of its portrayal of William the Great, see Bachrach, “Potius Rex,” and “Toward a Reappraisal.”

⁸ Here I am distinguishing between the sentiments expressed in the prologue, often dismissed as formulaic, and the actions outlined in the charter, which have been used by scholars to chart the donors' intent to create relationships with religious houses and the reciprocal nature of these interactions with institutions and with the dead. On the latter, see (among others) Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints*; Patrick J. Geary, “Exchange and Interaction between the Living and the Dead in Early Medieval Society,” in *Living with the Dead*, pp. 77–92; and more recently, Eliana Magnani S.-Christen, “Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift *pro anima* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Negotiating the Gift*, ed. Algazi, Groebner, and Jussen, pp. 269–84.

⁹ On the structure of charters see Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale*, *L'atelier du médiéviste* 2 (Turnhout, 1993), chapter 3, especially pp. 76–79 on preambles; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 18 (Graz, 1957). Joseph Avril asserts the importance of preambles as evidence for changes in ecclesiology, monastic ideals, definition of episcopal roles, and so on. He suggests, however, that it was often the scribes who developed these themes, not the donor: “La fonction épiscopale,” pp. 125–26 and “Observance

interested in lay spirituality now affirm that some noble laymen had the ability and the inclination to participate in the creation of important documents; this possibility has not seriously been questioned for episcopal donors.¹⁰ On the other hand, episcopal charters, like all documentary evidence, can be suspected of being formulaic and therefore not representative of the opinions of a particular bishop. It comes down to a simple but vexing question: were the sentiments expressed in an episcopal charter, such as those attributed to Jordan in the document above, truly the bishop's own?

There are two possible approaches to this problem. First, there are certain episcopal donation charters that contain prologues that seem—based on the surviving evidence—to be original to that particular document, and which may have been composed for the occasion either by the bishop or with his participation. We can attempt to establish with greater certitude that these passages were indeed original, through careful comparisons with other charters from the same house and neighboring communities. The attempt to establish the authenticity and originality of certain preambles leaves open, however, the question of what we can learn about the bishop's own opinions from charters that copied one or more formulae from earlier documents or from formula collections. Cannot the choice of a well-worn formula tell us much about the intentions of the donor? There was, after all, often a variety of formulae to choose from in creating a document, and there is no reason to think the choice was not made with the bishop's involvement and that the sentiments therein were not genuine, albeit expressed in formulaic

monastique," p. 5. Michel Zimmermann, claiming that he is studying the charters' form, not content, has looked at broad spiritual trends that can be identified through changes in the formulae in Catalan charters: "Protocoles et préambules dans les documents catalans du X^e au XII^e siècle: Évolution diplomatique et signification spirituelle" *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 10 (1974), 41–76 and 11 (1975), 51–77.

¹⁰ Michel Parisse ("Une enquête à mener: La spiritualité des nobles au miroir des préambules de leurs actes," in *Georges Duby: L'écriture de l'histoire*, ed. Duhamel-Amado and Lobrichon, pp. 307–16) has expressed the conviction that charter preambles can provide evidence for the spirituality of noble laymen, especially in southwestern France and Spain, where the diplomatic sources are not as dominated by products of imperial, royal, or papal chanceries as they are in the north and east of the Frankish kingdoms. Parisse is particularly concerned with redeeming the idea that laymen could have been involved in the composition of exceptional preambles. Conversely, Parisse implies that the idea that a cleric might be involved in developing the wording of his charters is not controversial.

language.¹¹ Aquitanian men and women of this period were aware of the importance of documents recording gifts and dispute settlements, which would survive as testaments to their generosity and proof of their rights after their deaths.¹² It seems unlikely, therefore, that bishops (or other donors, for that matter) would have wished these documents to contain sentiments not in accord with their own.

It is necessary, however, to proceed with caution. Where these charter prologues exist, it remains impossible to be absolutely certain about the relative levels of involvement of the donor and the scribe in their composition. In other cases, the evidence for the bishop's intention in giving the gift does not survive at all, either because it was never included in the document or has since been excised, often in the process of copying original charters into a cartulary. For example, few donations to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien in Poitiers contain preambles, possibly because this material was lost in the creation of the cartulary.¹³ In studying episcopal donation charters to religious houses, it remains more secure to make arguments from actions than from expressed sentiments, but it is worthwhile to pursue both channels. Let us, therefore, turn to the question of why bishops gave gifts, as well as the details of these donations: the choice of a house, the sources of the land given, and the measures taken to protect the gift in future.

¹¹ For an excellent discussion of the work that can be done with formulaic phrases in diplomatic texts, see Walter Ullmann, "On the Heuristic Value of Medieval Chancery Products," *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa* 1 (1964), 117–34, especially pp. 121–25; reprinted in *The Church and the Law in the Earlier Middle Ages: Selected Essays* (London, 1975), no. 19. Laurent Morelle offers a study of the self-perception of Bishop Geoffrey of Amiens, using the preambles to the bishop's charters: "Un 'grégorien' au miroir de ses chartes: Geoffroy, évêque d'Amiens (1104–1115)," in *À propos des actes d'évêques: Hommage à Lucie Fossier*, ed. Michel Parisse (Nancy, 1991), pp. 177–218 (esp. pp. 187–205). See also Sonnleitner, "Die Darstellung des bischöflichen Selbstverständnisses." Charters have also been used to explore the ideas and piety of crusaders: see, for example, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), esp. pp. 2–5; Giles Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 73–89.

¹² For examples of texts articulating the importance of written documentation, see *Nouaillé* 34 (pp. 61–62) and 104 (pp. 172–74). The use of documents to assert rights or privileges can be seen in an account of a court case before Bishop Alboin of Poitiers, in which the timely production of a charter containing a privilege carried the day: *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19).

¹³ On the creation of cartularies, see Guyotjeannin et al., eds., *Diplomatique médiévale*, pp. 277–79; Guyotjeannin, Morelle, and Parisse, eds., *Les cartulaires*, especially the article by Laurent Morelle on cartulary copies: "De l'original à la copie: Remarques sur l'évaluation des transcriptions dans les cartulaires médiévaux," pp. 91–104.

Reasons for Episcopal Donations

Bishops expressed a variety of reasons for their donations in their charters. One of the most prevalent was a concern for the fate of their own souls and those of their family in the afterlife. Ebles of Limoges, for example, made two major gifts to houses in the diocese of Poitiers: the first went to the monastery of Saint-Maixent and the second to a house of canons, Saint-Hilaire le Grand.¹⁴ Ebles had a long history with these two houses, participating in the rebuilding and restoration of both communities, as we saw in the previous chapter. His two donation charters, taken together, present in some detail Ebles's motives for giving away major pieces of his property. The gift to Saint-Maixent was made expressly for the salvation of his soul and the liberation of the soul of his dead brother, Duke William Tow-Head of Aquitaine, as well as to allay his nephew's grief over the death of his father. In return for both gifts, Ebles asked that the monks and canons remember him in their prayers for all time. In the charter for Saint-Hilaire, Ebles made a provision so that the aid for his soul would continue even if the land that he gave were to be resold: the new owner would be required to pay a certain sum to the subdeacon of Saint-Hilaire each year on the anniversary of Ebles's death, and the subdeacon would in turn give the money to the priests who sang masses for the bishop. Ebles thus acknowledged the realities of land ownership by religious houses—the fact that land moved back and forth between the house and other individuals through precarial grants, quitclaims, and other transactions—while simultaneously ensuring the care for his own soul.

Similar sentiments appear in documents from houses in other dioceses. Hilduin of Limoges gave lands to the community of canons at the cathedral of Saint-Étienne “for the love of omnipotent God, so that He might deign to pity [me] and to free from hell my soul and the soul of my brother, lord Bishop Hildegard, my predecessor.”¹⁵ Turpio of Limoges also gave a gift to the canons of Saint-Étienne in which he

¹⁴ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50); *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50).

¹⁵ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 11 (pp. 37–38); *Saint-Étienne* 189 (pp. 181–82): “Idcirco, in Dei nomine, ego Aldouinus, non meritis, sed Dei gratia episcopus, non coactus ilicito impulsu, sed propria ductus voluntate per incitamentum divinae indulgentiae pro amore Dei omnipotentis, ut ipse misereri ac liberare dignetur a gehennalibus animam meam et animam fratris mei domni Hildegarii episcopi antecessoris mei ab hac hora dono atque trado quoddam praedictum sylvae Deo et sancto protomartiri Stephano Lemovicie sedis coenobio.”

emphasized Christ's call to give alms as a remedy for the sins committed in this world.¹⁶ Occasionally, episcopal gifts were made for the benefit of a wider group than the individual bishop and his family members. Bishop Roho of Angoulême, for example, gave and sold land to the house of Saint-Amant de Boixe for the redemption of a range of persons, including Count William IV Taillefer, who had cooperated with Roho in rebuilding Saint-Amant:

I, Bishop Roho, for the redemption of my soul, have a great affection for the house of the confessor Saint Amant, and for love of lord Count William and of his wife Girberga and their sons Hilduin and Gauzfredus with their wives and sons, and for love of lord Abbot Algerius of Saint-Amant, and for the redemption of the souls of all those listed above, or for the redemption of all priests and bishops who came before me and will come after me, and for all the canons who live still or for those who have left this world, of the house of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, I give and I sell a certain villa...¹⁷

Certain bishops, in requesting aid for their souls, seemed particularly concerned about the consequences of their actions in this world, including their possession of wealth. Ebles of Limoges, for example, opened both of his donation charters with musings on the fragile and fleeting nature of this life: "Because certain death awaits all men, and the same uncertain fate awaits each person, it behooves all anxiously to rest the eyes of the mind on the condition of their mortality, and through the performance of good works to prepare the inheritance of the eternal dwelling-place for themselves."¹⁸ Ebles emphasized the

¹⁶ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 7 (p. 30) (dated 941 or 944); *Saint-Étienne* 128 (p. 143). As seen above, p. 185, Jordan of Limoges and his mother returned a church to Saint-Martial of Limoges in a document that included a long prologue on the importance of almsgiving for the future life of the soul; Jordan's passage also cited the same quotation from Luke as did Turpio's.

¹⁷ *Saint-Amant* 3 (pp. 94–95): "Ego igitur Roho episcopus propter redemptionem animae meae habeo magnam amicitiam ad locum sancti Amantii confessoris, et pro amore domini comitis Willelmi et uxoris eius nomine Girberga et filiorum eorum Ilduino et Gauzfredo cum uxoribus et filiis eorum sive pro amore domni Algerii abbatis eiusdem Sancti Amantii et pro redemptione animarum supramemoratorum vel pro redemptione omnium antistitum episcoporum qui ante me praecesserunt et qui post me venturi sunt, seu pro omnibus canonicis qui adhuc vivunt vel pro iis qui ex hoc seculo transierunt, de loco Sancti Petri Apostolorum principis, et dono atque vendo domno Algerio abbati in Dei nomine villam..."

¹⁸ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (p. 48): "Cum certa mors maneat omnes homines, et haec eadem incerta casu cuique eveniat, oportet sollicite unumquemque in conditione mortalitatis suae mentis oculos ponere, et per boni operis exhibitionem preparare sibi eterne patrie

importance of works in this life for achieving the kingdom of heaven, citing Christ's word in the Gospel of John as well as the sixth chapter of Paul's letter to the Galatians on the subject.¹⁹ Ebles was concerned about the consequences of the riches he had acquired, and he reasoned that by doing good work—in this case by giving his land to religious houses—God would show mercy and wipe away the sins arising from his worldly wealth.²⁰

Other bishops expressed unease about the consequences of their actions or their wealth in this life. Hilduin of Limoges articulated a common sentiment: that possessions in this world, normally so detrimental to salvation, might be turned to an advantage if given to religious houses.²¹ Grimoard of Angoulême, in donations made toward the end of his life, attempted to make amends for previous injustices he had committed and to ensure the well-being of his soul in the future.²² One of the key elements of his plan was to establish communal prayer for his benefit at the institutions for which he served as benefactor. For example, after describing the contents of a gift in which he established altars in the cathedral church of Saint-Pierre and gave the right of

hereditatem." He expresses a similar sentiment at the beginning of *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (p. 49).

¹⁹ The quotation from John appears in *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (p. 49): "Operamini dum dies est: venit hora in qua nemo poterit operari." This seems to be a paraphrase of Christ's words in John 9:4 (according to the Vulgate), "me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me donec dies est, venit nox quando nemo potest operari," although it changes the sense of John's text, in which Christ referred to his own works, rather than admonishing others to do good works. Did Ebles or the scribe alter this passage in order to make it more appropriate for the charter? Did they have a different version of the text? Ebles also cites the sixth chapter of Galatians in both his donation charters: 6:8 in the document for Saint-Maixent and 6:10 in the gift to Saint-Hilaire. Again, there is some significant deviation between the Vulgate text and the charter text.

²⁰ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (p. 49).

²¹ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 11 (p. 37). Both Jordan and Turpio of Limoges praised the benefits of almsgiving in counteracting the sins of this world: Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (pp. 42–43) and no. 7 (p. 30).

²² *Angoulême* 8 (p. 10). This concern for the state of his soul is also manifest in Grimoard's other gift to the canons: the establishment of three altars and sacristans to tend them, along with certain estates and incomes. Grimoard opened this charter by informing his readers that he gave this gift, "inflamed by celestial love, for the aid of my soul and those of all catholic Christians, so that the pious Lord might deign to wipe away the stains of our sins and we might be received by the heavenly citizens." *Angoulême* 77 (pp. 71–73): "Notum sit omnium fidelium christianorum presentium et futurorum sollercia quia, me superno amore accenso, pro remedio animae meae et omnium catholicorum, ut Pius Dominus peccaminum nostrorum maculas tergere et supernis civibus adscisci dignetur."

appointing the sacristan to the cathedral canons, Grimoard specified what care was to be taken for him by the canons:

[I give] all these things written above, for the support of the brothers serving the Lord there, on the condition that, as long as I remain alive, they are zealous to sing a psalm of David for me during the night office, and in the daily celebrations of the masses, they should sing a mass for me; after my death, similarly, as is the custom, they should not stop celebrating [the mass] of the dead and they should support one pauper with alms every day.²³

Grimoard would undoubtedly have been gratified to know that his wishes were remembered by his successors. In 1063, Bishop William II of Angoulême issued a charter reforming the hospital of Saint-Pierre, in which he instructed that one pauper should be supported for the soul of his predecessor.²⁴

These requests by Grimoard, Ebles, and others raise the question of whether episcopal donors in this period distinguished between monks and canons in the sort of care for souls they asked for in exchange for their gifts. It seems that they did not: gifts to cathedral canons or collegiate churches such as Saint-Hilaire requested the same attention and used the same language as gifts to monasteries.²⁵ The key concern for bishops appears to have been the performance of common prayer by a group of religious living together, regardless of the type of institution in which this prayer was conducted.

Like Grimoard, Ebles of Limoges was anxious to ensure that monks and canons would pray for his soul in perpetuity, whatever the fate of the property he gave. Ebles made provisions at Saint-Hilaire so that the prayer on his behalf would continue even if the land he gave was

²³ *Angoulême* 77 (p. 72): "Haec omnia, superius conscripta ad stipendia fratrum ibidem Domino militantium, ea scilicet condicione ut, quamdiu in hac luce permansero, nocturnis horis, pro me psalmum daviticum decantare studeant, atque in celebrationibus missarum cotidianis diebus, propriae missam decantent; post discessum quoque meum, similimodo, sicut mos est, defunctorum celebrare non desistant et, omnibus diebus, unum pauperum in elemosinam teneant."

²⁴ *Angoulême* 14 (pp. 14–15).

²⁵ See, for example, the similarity of language in Ebles of Limoges's gifts to the monastery of Saint-Maixent and the collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire, or the requests made by episcopal donors in gifts to the cathedral canons of Limoges and Angoulême. For further discussion, see below (pp. 199–200) and Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion."

transferred to a new tenant.²⁶ Despite his own clerical status, Ebles acknowledged the special power of monks and canons: their communal life and continuous prayer gave them an enhanced ability to help the souls of others. Ebles believed that this power could be accessed through generosity to religious houses, a conviction illustrated by his interpretation of a passage in Paul's letter to the Galatians, which he quoted in his gift to Saint-Hilaire. Paul wrote, "Therefore, while we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are the servants of faith (*domesticos fidei*) [Galatians 6:10]." Ebles interpreted *domestici fidei* to mean clergy living in a community and performing communal prayer, as he explained in the Saint-Hilaire document: "'servants of faith' certainly means those who are devoted to the saints of God with constant prayers, and who intercede for the living and are attentive to the dead with continuous zeal for prayers."²⁷ In the tradition of commentaries on Galatians, *domestici fidei* was rarely given an interpretation so closely tied to monks and canons and their communal prayer.²⁸ Ebles further stressed the importance of the continuous prayer of the canons in this charter by making his donation directly to "the clerics of that church serving God day and night there."²⁹ In Ebles, therefore, we find a bishop who was not only a master of religious houses in

²⁶ In a similar example, Alboin of Poitiers specified in two separate charters to Saint-Cyprien (in both cases he was approving and supplementing gifts by others) that clergy should be assigned to pray for his soul: *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 60); 233 (pp. 151–52).

²⁷ *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50): "Apostolus quoque similiter hortatur, inquiens: 'Dum tempus habemus operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei'; domesticos pro certo fidei demonstrans eos qui assiduus obsequiis sanctis Dei inserviunt, qui et pro vivis deprecantur et pro defunctis continuis orationum invigilant studiis."

²⁸ There seem to be two main traditions among early medieval Latin Christian authors in interpreting Paul's *domestici fidei*. First, the *domestici fidei* are described simply as the Christian faithful in works such as that of Marius Victorinus: "In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas," in *Marii Victorini Opera*, volume 2, ed. Franco Gori, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 83.2 (Vienna, 1986), p. 169. A definition closer to Ebles's is found in a sermon attributed to Augustine, in which he described *domestici fidei* as clerics, monks, and all those who flee this world to serve God: Sermon 307, PL 39:2335. On the other hand, in his *Commentary on Galatians*, Augustine interpreted *domestici fidei* as Christians in a more general sense: "Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis liber unus," in *Sancti Aureli Augustini Opera*, volume 4.1, ed. Ioannes Divjak, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 84 (Vienna, 1971), p. 137. A charter for the house of Saint-Bertin in 648 uses *domestici fidei* as one metaphor for monks, but does not define it as explicitly as Ebles did: PL 88:1155. The passage in Ebles's charter may thus represent his own interpretation of that phrase.

²⁹ *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (p. 50): "cedo et trado eiusdem basilicae clericis die noctuque inibi Deo obsequentibus post obitum quandoque nostrum domos a me justo labore meo constructas..."

various capacities, but also a debtor to them for their special ability to intercede for souls.

Ebles was not the only bishop to express such a desire to benefit from the prayer conducted at religious houses or to seek to be a part, however indirectly, of those communities. Jordan of Limoges and his mother stated that they made their gift to Saint-Martial for the aid of their souls, in the hope that the saint would help them after death. At the end of their charter, another clause was added, which included the following supplement to the agreement: after Jordan's death, "such obsequies would be celebrated by the brothers in the monastery of Saint-Martial for his soul as are customarily performed for any abbot of that place, [and] for the souls of his father and mother just as [would be performed] for the soul of a dead monk of that place."³⁰ This example illustrates once again that bishops, like laymen, felt the need to ensure regular prayer for their souls. In this case, Jordan requested the same consideration for himself and his parents as would be given to members of the community, thus in this respect making them *de facto* monks of the house. Turpio of Limoges echoed this idea of vicarious participation in the virtuous life and concomitant rewards of the regular clergy in his charter establishing and endowing the monastery of Saint-Augustin: he stated that although his own duties prevented him from leading a cloistered life, he might gain some of the same advantages by supporting that life through gifts.³¹

Besides accessing the prayers of the monks or canons, donors such as Jordan sought to establish a relationship with the patron saint of a given house. Ebles of Limoges invoked both Hilary and Maixent as intercessors for him in the court of heaven. He also menaced those who might tamper with these donations with the threat of the saints' wrath. In the Saint-Maixent charter, he made the gift directly to Maixent, whom he called "the most excellent confessor of Christ." In the Saint-Hilaire charter, Ebles referred to the merits of "my blessed protector Hilary," who would intercede for him with God on the Day of Judgment.³²

³⁰ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (p. 43): "Est etiam missum in hac convenientia ut post morte domni Jordani episcopi tale obsequio caelebretur a fratribus in monasterio beati Marcialis pro anima eiusdem quale solitum est peragi pro quolibet ipsius loci abbate, pro animabus vero patris et matris suae veluti pro unius monachi anima praedicti loci defuncto."

³¹ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (pp. 27–29); also *Saint-Étienne* 17 (pp. 39–41).

³² *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50); *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50). For scholarship on attempts by donors to build relationships with the patron saints of the religious houses

In their donation charters, therefore, bishops expressed a desire to save their own souls and those of their families and others, which were threatened by the activities and wealth of this world. They were convinced that gifts to religious houses would further this effort, and particularly that the communal prayer of monks and canons, if marshaled to their aid, would help them escape future punishment. These sentiments are particularly striking because in many interactions between bishops and religious houses, bishops acted from a position of power, beneficent or otherwise, as abbots or judges, oppressors or restorers. As donors, however, they acted simultaneously as beneficiaries and as supplicants, in need of the special power provided by the observance of the houses they endowed. Despite the fluidity that could exist between secular and regular clergy in this period, in the matter of prayer the regular clergy—whether monks or canons—clearly held sway.

We are left, however, with the problem of whether these prologues were formulaic and, if so, the significance of that determination. Let us first consider a particular case in detail—that of the donations made by Ebles of Limoges—to find whether we can determine the origins of certain preambles, and then return to the wider question. The three surviving charters that document Ebles's personal actions contain long prologues reflecting on his motivations, which may have been copied from other documents or composed for this occasion.³³ The obvious question to address is whether the same preambles appear in other charters of Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Maixent, from the earliest surviving documents to the end of our period.

The earliest of these three charters is Ebles's gift to Saint-Maixent, which the editor dates to 965/966. The form of this entire document is repeated in three other charters at Saint-Maixent, and one at Saint-Hilaire.³⁴ The preamble or other sections of the charter, meanwhile, are found in four other Saint-Maixent documents.³⁵ Of these eight

to which they gave, see, for example, White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints*; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints*; and the essays in Algazi, Groebner, and Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift*.

³³ These include both the two donations considered above (*Saint-Maixent* 33 [pp. 48–50] and *Saint-Hilaire* 43 [pp. 49–50]) and another charter from Saint-Hilaire in which Ebles freed a serf: *Saint-Hilaire* 44 (pp. 51–52).

³⁴ *Saint-Maixent* 63 (pp. 80–82), 82 (pp. 100–1), 93 (pp. 113–14); *Saint-Hilaire* 39 (pp. 44–45).

³⁵ *Saint-Maixent* 21 (pp. 34–35), 43 (pp. 59–60), 73 (p. 90), 109 (pp. 136–37). In at least one case, it appears that the preamble was omitted when the document was

partial or whole copies, six are dated after Ebles's charter, while one can only be dated to the tenth century and thus could fall before or after Ebles's donation.³⁶ These seven documents may well, therefore, have been copied from his exemplar.³⁷ The final gift is dated to ca. 959 and thus presents more of a problem, although its significance is not entirely clear.³⁸ Ebles's two charters for Saint-Hilaire present a simpler picture: his gift to the canons (ca. 976) is reproduced in one other donation to the house from around 1001, and both textual and physical evidence suggest that the latter was copied from the former.³⁹ The prologue of Ebles's manumission of a serf at Saint-Hilaire, also issued ca. 976, is reproduced in three mid-eleventh-century charters of Saint-Maixent.⁴⁰

recopied by Dom Fonteneau, the early modern scholar on whose copies we depend for most of the charters of Saint-Maixent: *Saint-Maixent* 73 (p. 90, n. 2).

³⁶ *Saint-Maixent* 63 (p. 80, n. 2).

³⁷ Indeed, the editor concludes that this must have been the case for one of them: *Saint-Maixent* 82 (p. 100, n. 1).

³⁸ *Saint-Maixent* 21 (pp. 34–35). The text of this charter survives in two copies made by the early modern scholar Dom Fonteneau, one from the original document and one from the twelfth-century cartulary. The copy from the original contained many lacunae, so the modern editor conflated the two copies by Fonteneau to create the printed version, but nonetheless passages are still missing (p. 34, n. 1; see also introduction, pp. xiii–xxii). The charters open with similar phrases: all that survives in the 959 document is: "...Maneat omnibus hominibus..." Ebles's preamble (*Saint-Maixent* 33 [p. 48]) begins, "Cum certa mors maneat omnes homines..." Other portions of the 959 charter resemble Ebles's donation; many of these shared sections were found in Fonteneau's copy from the twelfth-century cartulary rather than from the original. The prologue, however, could not be reconstructed in the 959 charter, and so we cannot tell if the whole prologue resembled Ebles's charter. We must also consider the fact that the date given by the editor is not certain—it is dated only to ca. 959. What is clear is that the 959 charter is, according to the editor, the earliest surviving document that resembles the form of Ebles's gift to Saint-Maixent; it is possible that Ebles copied this charter, including the lost preamble, for his own donation. On the other hand, the editor's date may be wrong, or both charters may have been copied from an earlier exemplar.

³⁹ Ebles's donation charter is *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50); the copy is *Saint-Hilaire* 69 (p. 77). Both of these charters survive in the original: Archives Départementales de la Vienne, carton 3, no. 34 (*Saint-Hilaire* 43; in the original and a probable eleventh-century copy) and no. 54 (*Saint-Hilaire* 69). An examination of these originals provides another possible piece of evidence that *Saint-Hilaire* 69 was copied from Ebles's charter. The original charter of Ebles's gift (carton 3, no. 34) includes a striking and complicated three-line symbol at the beginning of the text (the eleventh-century copy reproduces the symbol but with less detail). This symbol is reproduced in carton 3, no. 54 (*Saint-Hilaire* 69); it does not appear elsewhere in Saint-Hilaire charters. It seems likely that in copying Ebles's charter, the scribe of *Saint-Hilaire* 69 reproduced the symbol as well.

⁴⁰ Ebles's manumission charter is *Saint-Hilaire* 44 (pp. 51–52); copies are found at *Saint-Maixent* 92 (pp. 112–13; dated 1031/1033), 104 (pp. 129–30; dated 1040–1044), and 111

Besides the fact that all but one (or possibly two) of these charters were written later than Ebles's, three further arguments support the theory that they were composed by Ebles or his scribe and later copied by others. First, the donation charter to Saint-Maixent and the manumission document at Saint-Hilaire were copied not just at the houses at which they were issued, but at the other house as well. In the case of Ebles's donation to Saint-Maixent, a possible explanation for the crossover of this form quickly presents itself: it appears at Saint-Hilaire in a donation made around 970 by Ebles's nephew, William Iron-Arm.⁴¹ The form of the two charters is almost identical.⁴² It seems possible that upon deciding to make a donation to Saint-Hilaire, William (or his scribe) turned to Ebles, his uncle and advisor, for a form to use; it is also possible that they shared a scribe.⁴³ In the case of the manumission document given by Ebles at Saint-Hilaire and copied at Saint-Maixent, Ebles was the only obvious medium of transmission of the form between the two houses—he was active at both communities, and thus a charter he composed or contributed to might be known at both. Second, Ebles's

(pp. 139–40; dated 1047/1049). Ebles's document is of further interest because it cites Roman law and ancient custom as precedents for Ebles's actions. Citations of Roman law and custom are relatively rare in Aquitanian episcopal charters in this period; another example is found in the exchange made between Fulk of Angoulême and the house of Saint-Cybard: *Saint-Cybard* 217 (pp. 191–92). Such citations are not uncommon in the wider pool of Aquitanian documentary evidence, however: see Michel Rouche, "Les survivances antiques dans trois cartulaires de Sud-Ouest de la France aux X^e et XI^e siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 23 (1980), 93–108. For a recent revisionist argument on the significance of these citations (primarily of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*) in documents from the Midi, see Bowman, "Do Neo-Romans Curse?," pp. 5–8.

⁴¹ *Saint-Hilaire* 39 (pp. 44–45).

⁴² The variations that do exist between the two documents (besides, obviously, the names involved) seem to be of terms, not meaning: "pro praemio retributionis aeternae concupiscit transfundere..." (Saint-Hilaire) versus "pro remedio salutis eterne concupiscit transfundere..." (Saint-Maixent).

⁴³ Another possible piece of evidence that this formula originated at Saint-Maixent (although perhaps not with Ebles) and then traveled to Saint-Hilaire is the fact that Ebles's charter states that Maixent, "having acted as a helper, might give help to me in future times" ("iam dictus confessor prebeat mihi auxilium in futuro seculo factus adjutor"). It is possible that whoever composed this charter was making a play on Maixent's given name, Adjutor, in writing this sentence—a play that would not work anywhere else. It was not unknown for charters from Saint-Maixent to use the saint's given name: see no. 23 (pp. 35–37) or no. 93 (pp. 113–14), for example. For the life of Maixent and the origins of his monastery, see the introduction to the charters, pp. xxxviii–xxxix; Coutansais, "Les monastères du Poitou," pp. 1–2; Robert Favreau, *Le diocèse de Poitiers*, Histoire des diocèses de France 22 (Paris, 1988), p. 22; Pon, "Le monachisme en Poitou," pp. 101–3.

donations to Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Maixent cite and discuss three biblical passages (Galatians 6:8 and 6:10; John 9:4) that were not cited in other charters at either house up to 1050, except in the documents that, I argue, were copied from Ebles's. Finally, it has been speculated that donors were more likely to be involved in the composition of charters that had personal significance to them.⁴⁴ Ebles's three charters fit well with this conception: the two Saint-Hilaire charters were written at the very end of his life, while he made the donation to Saint-Maixent not long after his brother's death, when his thoughts would naturally have turned to the consolation of his family in this world and the well-being of their souls in the next. These arguments suggest that the prologues to Ebles's charters were original to those documents, although it remains possible that Ebles or his scribe copied these formulae from another source, and that the later charters may have copied from this common exemplar, rather than from Ebles's documents.⁴⁵

How profitable, in the end, is this exercise? Admittedly, it is tantalizing to think that we can identify phrases composed by one particular bishop. But even if, as in the case of Ebles's donations, there is evidence suggesting that preambles were created specifically for that occasion, we cannot prove beyond doubt that they were not copied from a lost exemplar, and we cannot determine the relative involvement of Ebles and his scribe in the composition. Further, the attempt to establish the originality of some preambles implies that other such texts, copied in part or in full from exemplars, are less informative or useful. In fact, this distinction does not hold. Even if a bishop merely selected formulae to include in his donation, or sanctioned the choices made by a scribe, choice was still involved; presumably a bishop would not approve a charter that expressed sentiments incompatible with his own, especially in the case of donations made for his own benefit or that of his family. Sections of charters that are more prone to use formulae do not have intrinsically less value to the historian than those that seem more

⁴⁴ See Parisse's description of Countess Emma of Poitou's probable involvement in the composition of the foundation charter of Bourgueil, for example: "Un enquête," pp. 312–15.

⁴⁵ A preliminary survey of the formulary collections used in this period, however, did not produce exemplars for Ebles's three documents, although there were charters that expressed similar sentiments: Karl Zeumer, ed., *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, MGH Legum sectio V: Formulae (Hannover, 1886; repr. 1963).

specific to the situation at hand.⁴⁶ We must, of course, always be aware of the manner in which charters were composed and of the possibility that any given phrase may not have appeared first in the document in question. This awareness should not be used, however, as an excuse to dismiss this material, or to seek only to glean the true originals from the remaining formulaic chaff.

Given the assumption that the prologues of episcopal charters contain sentiments that were at least approved of by the bishop, certain observations concerning the nature of episcopal piety arise from a consideration of these passages. First, it is striking that bishops sought the same aid for their souls from gifts to monks and canons as did laymen, despite the fact that they were clergy themselves. The bishops acknowledged the special power of communal prayer and attempted to share in its benefits by supporting the servants of faith. Second, bishops made these gifts and appealed for these prayers from monasteries and communities of canons alike. This is intriguing and leads to questions about the relative status of monks and canons in the eyes of donors. Chronicles from the period, such as that written by Ademar of Chabannes, suggest that the lifestyle of monks was considered to be superior to that of canons.⁴⁷ The fact that episcopal donors did not seem to differentiate between the two groups—in both cases, they praised their lifestyle and hoped to be made part of their communities of prayer—suggests that this distinction was not fully embraced by the rest of the population; the chronicles in question were, after all, usually written by monks. These charters suggest that donors in this period did not necessarily consider monastic life to be a worthier form of religious life than that carried out in collegiate churches, or that monks were better advocates for

⁴⁶ This is an adaptation of the argument presented by Jeffrey Bowman in “Do Neo-Romans Curse?,” pp. 19–20. Bowman argued, in reference to citations of both Roman law and liturgical cursing in charters from the province of Narbonne, that we cannot label certain references in charters as significant (as scholars had long done with the citations of Roman law) and dismiss others (in Bowman’s case, those concerning ritual) as formulaic and meaningless.

⁴⁷ Ademar and other chroniclers portrayed the transfer of a house from the hands of canons to monks as a needed reform; the reverse represented a regrettable slide from discipline. See, for example, Ademar’s comments on the house of Eymoutiers in the Limousin: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.35 (p. 157); see also the account of this house in the *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 22–24. In another example, Ademar, the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* and the *Petites chroniques* of the house of Saint-Cybard in Angoulême describe the transformation of Saint-Cybard from a monastery to a house of canons as a result of the Norman invasions: Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.19 (p. 138); *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent*, pp. 64–65; P. de Fleury, ed., “Petites chroniques,” p. 20.

the souls of others than were the canons. Rather, it seems that donors found the fact of communal life and prayer, as well as other potential considerations, such as family ties to a house, more important than the rule around which the house was organized.⁴⁸

Mechanics of Episcopal Donations

Given that the question of monastic or canonical life did not seem to be determinant in the decision to give land or wealth to a particular community, what criteria dictated the bishop's choice of a house to benefit? Out of the many religious communities in each of the dioceses considered here, bishops generally gave donations to houses in three categories. First, bishops were often generous to communities they had founded or restored. Individual bishops who undertook the rebuilding of religious houses almost always included a donation as part of this process, as we saw in the last chapter. Such a restoration might also begin a tradition of generosity: the bishops of Poitiers, for example, gave gifts most frequently to the house of Saint-Cyprien, which one of their number, Frotier II, had restored. Second, bishops often gave gifts to the canons of their own cathedral, as the documents from Saint-Étienne in Limoges and Saint-Pierre in Angoulême demonstrate. Finally, bishops frequently gave to houses with which they had a long-standing relationship, often through family connections. Ebles of Limoges, for example, gave to Saint-Maixent and Saint-Hilaire, which lay outside his own diocese but in the region ruled by his family; he had also held offices at both communities prior to his elevation to the bishopric. In another such case, Ebles's successors, the brothers Hildegard and Hilduin, were both generous to the monastery of Uzerche, which

⁴⁸ For a more complete version of this argument, see Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion." Scholars have long argued that Benedictine monasticism was seen as the most eminent form of religious life from the Carolingian era until ca. 1050, when a "crisis of cenobitism" resulted in the appearance of new religious groups. For a reconsideration of this model and a survey of the bibliography on this question, see John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150," *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269–304; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996). As Constable argues (pp. 11–13), the vocabulary used to designate monks and canons in the early Middle Ages was more vague than we might expect if contemporaries believed one group was clearly superior to the other. Indeed, the language used to describe communities of canons in the early Middle Ages suggests that they were often not distinguished from monks.

their family had long patronized. Despite the fact that a need for aid in the next life prompted many episcopal gifts, we cannot ignore the desire for worldly influence as a factor in these donations, or at least in their destination. When bishops selected a house as the recipient of their gift, they generally chose to strengthen bonds with or increase their influence at houses with which they or their families already had established relationships.

Having made the decision to give a gift, from what sources did the bishops draw the land or assets that they donated? In some cases, the documents seem to make a clear distinction between donations made from the bishops' own personal holdings and those made from the estates of the cathedral; at times, however, that distinction seems to blur. To begin with examples of gifts from the bishops' own lands: in his donation to Saint-Maixent, Ebles of Limoges stated explicitly that the estates came from his own inheritance, writing that he transferred them to the house "from my own right of heredity," although he would retain the use of the land until his death.⁴⁹ Similarly, a charter from Nouaillé recorded that a certain estate had first come to the house through a gift of Hecfrid of Poitiers, "[which land was] in his own allod purchased at his own price from a certain deacon of Saint-Hilaire by name of Goscelinus."⁵⁰ Hecfrid's successor, Alboin of Poitiers, gave an allod that he bought with his own money to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien.⁵¹ A half-century later, Isembert I of Poitiers gave land to the same house with the consent of his mother and siblings; presumably their consent was required because this land belonged to the family.⁵² Turpio of Limoges gave one-tenth of one his own domains to his newly rebuilt house of Saint-Augustin, while Hilduin of Limoges gave a gift to the canons of Saint-Étienne "from my own property."⁵³ Bishops also gave assets other than land, as when Turpio of Limoges released a family of serfs from his own lordship for the benefit of the cathedral

⁴⁹ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50): "de proprio jure hereditatis meae cedo atque transfundo domno nostro precellentissimo Christi confessori Maxentio..."

⁵⁰ *Nouaillé* 116 (pp. 189–91): "Nam Eva uxor Bernardi de Maceriolis habebat terram unam, ad arcus iuxta Pictavim, prope Patriniacum, in manufirma tantum in vita sua, que erat Nobiliacensis ecclesiae quam ei dederat sanctae recordationis Helfridus Pictavensis episcopus, in proprio alodo comparato precio suo proprio de quodam diacono Goscelino nomine sancti Hilarii."

⁵¹ *Saint-Cyprien* 231 (p. 150).

⁵² *Saint-Cyprien* 212 (pp. 138–39). For the rituals involved with familial consent to gifts, see White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints*.

⁵³ For Turpio's gift, see Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (p. 29); no. 11 (p. 38).

of Saint-Étienne.⁵⁴ Other donations show the bishops giving land that they held from another party. For example, Jordan of Limoges and his mother returned to the monastery of Saint-Martial a church that their ancestors had long held from the house.⁵⁵ Jordan also gave a gift to the canons of his cathedral in Limoges that included both assets that he possessed through heredity and others that he held from Duke William of Aquitaine.⁵⁶

In other cases, the land given in episcopal donations appears to have come both from the bishop's personal holdings and from the estates of the cathedral. A thirteenth-century chronicle by Pierre Coral, sixteenth abbot of Saint-Martin in Limoges, describes the 1012 restoration of Saint-Martin by Bishop Hilduin and raises the possibility that gifts could be made either from the lands of the episcopate or from the bishop's own personal property.⁵⁷ The most striking example of this phenomenon comes in the donations made by Bishop Frotier II of Poitiers to the monastery of Saint-Cyprien as part of his restoration of that house. A list of all the estates given to Saint-Cyprien by Frotier is found in a document issued by Archbishop Téotelon of Tours, who consecrated the newly rebuilt monastery in a large ceremony in 936 and enumerated all of the estates that Frotier had turned over to the community.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 7 (p. 30). For more on giving serfs to support a cathedral's lighting fund, see Fouracre, "Eternal Light and Earthly Needs," in *Property and Power*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, p. 76. We have one other example of manumission of a serf from the Aquitanian sources of this period: Ebles of Limoges released a man named Durandus from service in a ceremony held at the house of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers (*Saint-Hilaire* 44 [pp. 51–52]). Unlike Turpio, however, Ebles does not appear to have transferred the serf to the power of Saint-Hilaire but rather freed him outright.

⁵⁵ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 14 (pp. 42–44).

⁵⁶ *Saint-Étienne* 30 (pp. 55–56).

⁵⁷ Pierre Coral, in Becquet, "Les premiers abbés de Saint-Martin," p. 387: "Circa annum Domini MXII domnus Hildoinus frater Iofredis abbatis sancti Martialis Lemovicensis et Guidonis vicecomitis Lemovicensis restituit monasterium istud... Mansum de Doine dedit nobis Dnus Hildoinus; utrum de episcopatu vel de hereditate fuerit, nescimus." Of course, Coral may have been projecting a thirteenth-century distinction back to the eleventh century, but the following charters suggest otherwise.

⁵⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (pp. 5–7). The villae named in the document are Saint-Maixent le Petit, Lurai, "Forcax," "Proliacus," "Alinaris," "Villena," Savigny, Milly, and "Tasiacus." On theories for Téotelon's presence at the consecration, see Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:83–84 and Treffort, "Le comte de Poitiers," p. 432, both of which focus on the idea that Frotier was forced to reform and endow Saint-Cyprien as part of the resolution of a dispute with the count/dukes (see above, chapter 3, pp. 68–70). There are other possible explanations, however. Perhaps Frotier wanted an archbishop to perform the consecration. Téotelon was active in the reconstruction of Saint-Julien in the Touraine, and Frotier may have wished to involve someone with a reputation as

Téotelon's document did not describe the origins of each property, but fortunately other documents survive that give more clues.

A number of the estates listed in the charter issued by Téotelon were owned by Frotier himself. For example, Frotier had purchased the domains of Saint-Maixent le Petit and Lurai from his mother twenty years earlier.⁵⁹ In the document in which he turned Saint-Maixent-le-Petit over to Saint-Cyprien, he reiterated that it was his allod, held in his own right.⁶⁰ Frotier also gave the land, a church, and several of the serfs that he controlled in the estate of Milly.⁶¹ It seems clear, therefore, that some of the estates listed by Téotelon in the charter of consecration were given by Frotier from his personal holdings.

At least one of the estates in Téotelon's document was not owned by Frotier, however, but was part of the cathedral lands that he ruled as bishop. Aremburge, the widowed viscountess of Thouars, came to Frotier asking that he allow the estate at Savigny, which she and her late husband, Aimeri I, held from the cathedral, to be transferred to the possession of Saint-Cyprien. The charter stipulated that the monks should pay a yearly rent in exchange for the privilege of holding the land.⁶² In this case, Frotier, acting as lord of the cathedral lands, supervised the transfer of land from one tenant to another. Furthermore, Frotier's successor, Alboin, in a charter enumerating Frotier's actions at Saint-Cyprien, wrote that Frotier had enriched the monastery "from the possessions of Saint Peter, as much as from his own inheritance," suggesting two sources for the land: the cathedral of Poitiers, dedicated to Peter, and Frotier's own holdings.⁶³ There is no reason to doubt

a reformer: Guy-Marie Oury, "Le rôle du monastère de Saint-Julien de Tours après sa restauration par Odon de Cluny (peu av. 942–1042)," in *Pays de Loire*, ed. Guillot and Favreau, pp. 191–213 at pp. 192–93.

⁵⁹ *Saint-Jean* 253 (1: 309–11).

⁶⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 183 (p. 117). A later charter recording a judgment of Frotier's successor, Alboin, also emphasized that Saint-Maixent-le-Petit had been Frotier's own allod: *Saint-Cyprien* 184 (pp. 118–19).

⁶¹ *Saint-Cyprien* 118 (p. 87).

⁶² *Saint-Cyprien* 232 (pp. 150–51). On the viscounts of Thouars, see Hugues Imbert, "Notice sur les vicomtes de Thouars de la famille de ce nom," *MSAO* 29 (1864), pp. 321–431. On Thouars and the three other main viscomital houses of Poitou, see Marcel Garaud, "Les vicomtes de Poitou (IX^e–XII^e siècles)," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4th series, 16 (1937), 426–49.

⁶³ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (p. 58): "Quamobrem ego Alboinus, Pictavensium urbis episcopus, cum plerisque notum esse cernitur benivolum me ad monasterio aliquo nuncupante Sancto Cypriano, ubi ipse gloriosus corpore quiescit, et est in prospectu Pictavis civitatis super alveum Clinii, quem venerabilis vir Frotherius nomine et presul

Alboin's testimony on this matter, as he was present, in his role as treasurer of the house of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, at the consecration ceremony for Saint-Cyprien.⁶⁴

Further evidence is provided by a charter given by Froter himself, in which he outlined his restoration of Saint-Cyprien and his donations to the monastery in the following terms:

I, Bishop Froter . . . give to [Saint-Cyprien] a gift from my own inheritance, which came to me from my father and mother, and however much I am known to hold in that land; and as much as belongs to that church I give and concede whole and intact in that place, and to the monks living there, in such a way that I do not wish to break [the lands] off from the power of Saint Peter, but in such a way that no later bishop, because of pride or defiance or arrogance, would dare to break our confirmation unless for the sake of the love and fear of God.⁶⁵

Froter divided his gifts into two parts: the land he received from his parents, and the land of "that church," which presumably refers to the cathedral. Indeed, we find mention in other charters of land held by Saint-Cyprien from the cathedral.⁶⁶ It seems that the estates he gave from the cathedral were not given outright—he does not wish to remove the lands permanently from the power of Saint Peter, as he puts it—but rather to be held by the monks from that church. He requested that future bishops allow the monks to continue holding the land, although he did give them the option of reclaiming it if they acted out of love and fear of God.

We also find examples in which bishops gave gifts to religious houses that consisted exclusively of cathedral land or assets. Hilduin of Limoges gave certain incomes to the house of Uzerche that had previously

sancte Pictavensis aecclesiae, antecessor meus, olim mirifico opere construxit, ibique monachorum agmina instituit, et de rebus Sancti Petri ad ipsam abbatiam pertinentem, quam etiam de sua propria ditavit hereditate."

⁶⁴ *Saint-Cyprien* 4 (p. 6).

⁶⁵ *Saint-Cyprien* 3 (pp. 4–5): "Ego Froterius episcopus . . . concedo ei donum ex hereditate mea, que ex genitore et genitrice devenit michi, et quantumcumque super terram me visus sum habere; et quantum ad ipsius ecclesiam pertinet, totum et integrum illuc trado atque concedo, et illis videlicet monachis ibidem commorantibus, tali tenore ut non de potestate sancti Petri dirumpere cupio, set tali modo ut nullus deinceps episcopus propter superbiam aut contumaciam aut arrogantiam, nisi causa caritatis et timore Dei, ausus sit nostram frangere firmitatem."

⁶⁶ *Saint-Cyprien* 68 (pp. 62–63) and 77 (p. 70), for example, concern the estate of Vendevre, which Saint-Cyprien held directly from the cathedral. See also the editor's comments on these documents, p. xlv.

belonged to the episcopate.⁶⁷ Fulk of Angoulême gave land from his cathedral's fund for lighting candles in an exchange with the monastery of Saint-Cybard.⁶⁸ In other cases, bishops gave land that may have come from cathedral holdings, but whose origins are delineated less clearly. For example, Isembert I of Poitiers built a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher at Chauvigny, endowed it with extensive lands, and gave it to the monks of Saint-Cyprien. Isembert's family held land and a castle at Chauvigny, and thus it seems logical that the estates that he gave to the new church came from those holdings. Nonetheless, certain language in the charter suggests that at least some of the lands may have belonged to the cathedral: in one case he refers to an "episcopal meadow," and elsewhere he specifically forbade bishops to exact dues on certain properties.⁶⁹ In the same period, Roho of Angoulême made a donation and a sale to the monastery of Saint-Amant de Boixe.⁷⁰ Roho did not specify the origins of the lands he was transferring, but in both cases he emphasized that he consulted the canons of the cathedral and that the donation would benefit their souls as well as his own.

These lands of more indefinite origin should raise a red flag of sorts for the modern reader; while in some cases the bishops seemed keen to delineate carefully the origin of the gifts in question, the ambiguous or mixed origin of other lands illustrates that it may be unhelpful to draw too sharp a line between private and public holdings—as we have seen with regard to the lands of bishops and canons elsewhere.⁷¹ Further evidence for this assertion comes from the fact that the source of the lands given often did not affect the kinds of personal benefits that the bishops anticipated in return. Hilduin of Limoges, for example, gave an income to the house of Uzerche that had come to him from his predecessor bishops. Despite the fact that this income seems to have been an asset that belonged to the episcopate of Limoges rather than to Hilduin personally, he couched his gift in the same terms as those made of personal land: as a potential remedy for his sins in this world.⁷² Similarly, when Grimoard of Angoulême gave incomes and rights in his cathedral from the holdings of the bishops to the community of

⁶⁷ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 12 (pp. 38–39); also printed in *Uzerche* 444 (pp. 251–52).

⁶⁸ *Saint-Cybard* 217 (pp. 191–92).

⁶⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 210 (pp. 136–37).

⁷⁰ *Saint-Amant* 2 (pp. 92–93) and 3 (pp. 94–95).

⁷¹ See above, chapter 2, pp. 33–38.

⁷² Becquet, *Actes*, no. 12 (p. 39).

canons, he asked to be remembered in their prayers for all time.⁷³ It might be expected that in order to receive personal benefit for their souls, a bishop would have to give his own personal property, but it appears that alienating the assets of the episcopate might also bring such rewards. This may stem from the fact that the bishop was in such cases depriving his institution—and therefore himself—of wealth, but it may also reflect a lack of clear delineation between the two types of properties.

How did bishops attempt to protect the donations they had made to religious houses from future interference? Like many lay and clerical donors, they included penalty clauses in their charters, which outlined the consequences in the next life for challenges made to their donations.⁷⁴ Along with admonishing the public at large to abide by the tenets of their documents, bishops often specifically bound their successors to respect their gifts. Turpio of Limoges, for example, had harsh words for any future bishops who might violate his donation to Saint-Augustin:

I beseech you, O my successors, in God and on account of God, that none of you presume to violate this testament of my smallness, which I ordered to be written for the aid of my soul and those of my predecessors and successors. But if anyone acts differently—God forbid!—he shall not appear before the view of divine majesty with the good pastors, but he should burn without end with the rapacious wolf, that is, the devil, in hell.⁷⁵

Bishops generally reserved their threats for those individuals who might impinge on their donation, while they allowed the recipients of their gifts to use the lands or assets according to their own will. On occasion, however, a bishop would bind a house to keep the gift that he had given and not grant it to another institution or individual.

⁷³ *Angoulême* 77 (pp. 71–73).

⁷⁴ On penalty clauses, see Guyotjeannin et al., eds., *Diplomatique médiévale*, pp. 82–83; on monastic penalty clauses, see Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 52–59; on the efficacy of these clauses, see Bowman, “Do Neo-Romans Curse?”

⁷⁵ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (pp. 27–29): “Obsecro vos, o successores mei, in Deo et propter Deum, ut hoc testamentum parvitatis meae quod pro remedium animae meae antecessorumque vel successorum conscribi jussi, nullus vestrum violare praesumat. Sin autem aliter, quod absit, aliquis egerit, ante conspectum divinae majestatis non cum bonis pastoribus appareat, sed cum lupo rapace, id est diabolo, in inferno, sine fine ardeat.” For other examples of bishops admonishing their successors to respect their gifts, see Becquet, *Actes*, no. 7 (p. 30), no. 11 (p. 38), and no. 12 (p. 39); *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 58–61).

In one such case, Hilduin of Limoges gave an income that had long been held by the bishops of Limoges to the monastery of Uzerche. He stipulated that the monks could not turn over the right to collect this income to anyone, cleric or layman, as a precarial grant. If later bishops discovered that this had occurred, they could reclaim the income both from the recipient of the precarial grant and from the monastery itself.⁷⁶ In this way, Hilduin attempted to hinder all those who might threaten the integrity of his gift, including the recipients. Hilduin may have been concerned that the benefits for his soul would be dissipated had the income been given to another recipient. If so, this would be reminiscent of stipulations in the gift made by Ebles of Limoges to the house of Saint-Hilaire, in which Ebles insisted that if the estates he gave were later given or sold to another, that person was bound to pay the priests who kept up the prayer for Ebles's soul. Ebles thus ensured that the most crucial aspect of his gift would remain intact, whatever the fate of the land.⁷⁷

Episcopal donations were often made, therefore, from lands or assets that belonged to the bishop personally, having come to him by right of heredity, through purchase, or through the grant of another. In other cases, the bishops gave properties that were part of the estates of the episcopate or the cathedral. The origins of the properties seem, in many cases, not to have altered the reasons that lay behind the bishops' gifts: the hope that aid for their souls and those of their relatives would result from the prayers of the clergy and the gratitude of the saint. Bishops also used these donations to cultivate or strengthen their influence at a house, as is evident from the choice of communities to receive gifts. Given the pressing reasons behind these gifts, it is not surprising that the bishops sought to protect them from interference by outsiders, by their own successors, and even, on occasion, by the recipients themselves.

In manu episcopi: Episcopal Roles in Donations by Others

In the first days of November 1047, a large number of eminent men and women, both clerical and lay, gathered in the city of Saintes for the consecration of the newly-built convent of Notre-Dame, which had been founded and richly endowed by Count Geoffrey of Anjou and his wife

⁷⁶ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 12 (p. 39); *Uzerche* 444 (pp. 251–52).

⁷⁷ *Saint-Hilaire* 43 (pp. 49–50).

Agnes, the former duchess of Aquitaine.⁷⁸ Geoffrey and Agnes brought together an impressive array of abbots, archbishops, and bishops for this event, including the prelates of Bordeaux, Saintes, Périgueux, Limoges, and Poitiers. The assembled clerics issued a document dedicating the church and confirming the donations that had been lavished upon the new establishment. This charter opened with a discussion of the role the clerics were performing that day at Saintes:

Not only will those who take care to build places to be turned over to divine services and who with religious generosity take care to enrich [these houses] with an abundance of things for meeting the needs of the servants or handmaidens of God receive a reward from the most-generous recompenser of all good things, but also those who act as helpers to them, at least by consent and comfort in arranging and establishing the stability of those places, can be sure that there will also be a reward laid aside for them; in so far as they cooperate with a ready will in good works, they should share in the reward...⁷⁹

The bishops and other clerics went on to confirm the foundation and endowment of the house—a role that bishops performed frequently in documents from this period—but what is most interesting about this text is their assertion of the general principle that to take a supporting role in a donation or foundation would bring heavenly rewards. Involvement in donations in any capacity, it seems, was considered praiseworthy. We have already seen examples of bishops acting in supporting roles in the foundation and reform of religious houses. Bishops also took active parts in the donations of others: they requested that particular donations be made, oversaw the transfer of assets to a house, supplemented a gift with further land, consented to the completion of a transaction, and brought their authority to bear in adding security to a given exchange.

Bishops encouraged donations to religious houses for a variety of reasons. In some cases, they acted out of concern for the welfare of a

⁷⁸ Grasilier, ed., *Notre-Dame de Saintes*, 1 (pp. 1–5), 77 (p. 70), 109 (pp. 90–91), 110 (p. 91), 123 (p. 99), 225 (pp. 143–45) and 235 (p. 154). See also the introduction to the charters, pp. i–ii; Soulard Berger, “Agnès de Bourgogne,” p. 48.

⁷⁹ *Notre-Dame de Saintes* 2 (pp. 6–8): “Non solum qui loca divinis cultibus mancipanda extruere, et rerum copia ad necessitates servorum sive ancillarum Dei sustentandas religiosa munificentia ditare satagunt, premium a largissimo bonorum omnium remuneratore consequuntur, sed etiam illi qui eisdem assensu saltem et solatio in locorum ipsorum et stabilitate disponenda et constituenda adjuutores existunt, competentem mercedem sibi quoque repositam esse confidunt; quatinus qui fuerunt prompta voluntate bonorum operum cooperatores, fiant etiam in retributione participes...”

house. Ebles of Limoges, for example, sought to enrich the house of Uzerche when he prodded Viscount Ademar of Limoges and his wife Melisende to give a donation to the monastery.⁸⁰ In a similar case, Ebles was keen to ensure that the possession of a certain estate by the canons of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne would not be challenged in the future. The land had been given to the canons during the reign of Ebles's predecessor, Turpio, by laymen who had taken it from its rightful owner, the archdiocese of Lyon. Ebles petitioned the current archbishop of Lyon, Himblard, for an official donation charter for the land:

Finally, the above-mentioned bishop [Ebles] was seen to ask our paternity whether it might be permitted for his canons to possess now under our donation, with the exaction of an annual tax, that which they were seen to have held for a long time without tax exaction and without any interference of ours, through the gift of a certain person to them, so that it will not again be brought back under the power of lay people.⁸¹

By securing the permission of the archbishop, Ebles tried to ensure the canons' future undisturbed ownership of the land. A bishop might also require that a gift be made as compensation for a crime committed against a house. For example, Jordan of Limoges demanded that Count Aldebert of the March give a major donation to the house of Lesterps, whose church had been burned by the count and his allies.⁸²

When laymen made arrangements to protect or reform religious houses, they often asked bishops to supervise or participate in the process. This is illustrated by a document issued by Bishop Isembert I of Poitiers on behalf of Viscount Cadelo of Aulnay and his son, William. Cadelo and William came before the bishop full of remorse for the raids and violence that they had perpetrated in the past. Claiming that they were committed to changing their behavior, they asked that Isembert give a privilege for a church near the town of Melle and for its estates, freeing these assets forever from lay control and taxation and bringing them into the power of the bishops of Poitiers and the rule of

⁸⁰ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37); *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65).

⁸¹ *Saint-Étienne* 179 (pp. 172–74): “Denique prefatus episcopus nostram paternitatem visus est exposcere, ut suis canonicis quod tanto tempore sine censuali exactione et sine aliqua cuiuspiam nostrorum interpellatione, per cuiuspiam sibi factam donationem visi sunt tenuisse, abhinc jam ne iterum sub secularium redigatur potestate personarum, nostra nostrorumque donatione sub annualis census exactione liceat possidere.” The land in question came to the canons in *Saint-Étienne* 12 (pp. 33–34).

⁸² See the description of this event in a charter given by Aldebert's daughter in Babinet de Rencogne, ed., “Charte d'Almodis, comtesse de la Marche,” pp. 409–14.

the monks of Cluny. Isembert, having secured the consent of Odilo of Cluny, the canons of Poitiers, and other eminent men, agreed to this request and issued the desired privilege.⁸³ Rather than simply giving the church to Cluny, Cadelo and William preferred to import the lifestyle of Cluny but use Isembert as a go-between and leave the church in the power of the bishops of Poitiers. In another example of a lay privilege given in concert with a bishop, Count Boso II of the March, having sought the consent of Bishop Hilduin of Limoges, issued a document transforming the church of Ahun into a monastery and placing it in the power of the monks of Uzerche.⁸⁴ It is probable that Boso requested the bishop's involvement both because the houses in question fell in the diocese of Limoges and because Hilduin's family had long been patrons of Uzerche; in both capacities, Hilduin could offer protection for Boso's arrangement.

Episcopal consent for donations was sought for a variety of reasons. In some cases, a bishop's confirmation meant that excommunication would menace those who violated the gift. For example, when Count Geoffrey of Angoulême made two gifts to the monastery of Saint-Amant de Boixe in the early 1040s, Bishop Gerard of Angoulême confirmed not only the gifts themselves, but also Geoffrey's assertion that any who attempted to remove the lands from the house would face damnation.⁸⁵ In other instances episcopal permission was required for the more mundane reason that the donor sought to give land or assets that they held from the cathedral. In one such case, a man named Adraldus wished to donate to the monastery of Saint-Maixent a piece of land that he held from Viscount Cadelo of Aulnay, who held it in turn from "the altar of Saint Peter in the bishopric of Poitiers." Adraldus thus sought the consent of both Cadelo and Bishop Isembert I before he gave the land to the monastery.⁸⁶ Similarly, Aremburge, the widowed viscountess of

⁸³ Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 6 volumes, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1876–1903), no. 2816 (4:19–21).

⁸⁴ *Uzerche* 46 (pp. 78–79). On Ahun see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, p. 163.

⁸⁵ *Saint-Amant* 5 (p. 97) and 90 (pp. 138–39). In a similar example, Gumbald of Bordeaux added his authority to an excommunication protecting a donation by one Peironera to Saint-Seurin of Bordeaux: Brutails, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale Saint-Seurin*, no. 11 (p. 12).

⁸⁶ *Saint-Maixent* 82 (pp. 100–1): "sed quia haec terra vel ecclesia ex altare sancti Petri Pictavensis sedis episcopatu Cataloni vicecomiti succedebat, de quo precessores parentes mei semper habuerant, ego similiter tenebam. Cum consilio domni episcopi Isemberti et ipsius videlicet Cataloni, hoc actum est: accepit etiam et ipse Catalo cen-

Thouars, came before Bishop Frotier II of Poitiers asking that he allow the estate at Savigny, which she and her late husband held from the cathedral, to be transferred to the possession of Saint-Cyprien.⁸⁷ Frotier acquiesced to Aremburge's request and supervised the transfer of the land to the possession of the monastery.

A striking example of episcopal permission sought for a donation of cathedral land comes in a charter issued by Bishop Alboin of Poitiers, in which the bishop expressed his support for Frotier, a canon of the cathedral, who had built a church that he wished to give to Saint-Cyprien.⁸⁸ Canon Frotier asked that Alboin consecrate the church and confirm the gifts that he (Frotier) had given both from his own land and the land he held from the cathedral. In the charter, Alboin enumerated the estates that were to be given to the new church, which he divided into two categories. First, he described the lands that Canon Frotier held as allods or by right of heredity, and then he listed those that were given "from the benefice of Saint Peter and of ours by request of this same priest Frotier."⁸⁹ Alboin obtained the consent of the cathedral canons and the acquiescence of the eminent men of Poitou before turning over these lands and their incomes to Saint-Cyprien. At the close of the document, Alboin asked that three monks be established at Saint-Cyprien who would pray daily for his own soul and that of his predecessor, Bishop Frotier II. Thus it appears that Alboin expected to receive personal benefit for his consent to and confirmation of gifts made by Canon Frotier. Similarly, when Alboin consecrated and endowed a chapel built at Savigny by Richard, archdeacon of the church at Poitiers, he did not expect to go unrewarded: the tithes were used to support a priest for this new chapel, who would always offer the mass, "especially for the present pious pastor and author of this work and for all his relatives."⁹⁰ These examples confirm the principle that bishops

tum solidos et quatuor junctos de vineis in castello Metulo ab ipsis monachis, ut sine aliqua inquietudine habeant et possideant."

⁸⁷ *Saint-Cyprien* 232 (pp. 150–51).

⁸⁸ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 58–61).

⁸⁹ *Saint-Cyprien* 65 (pp. 59–60): The list of lands belonging to Frotier as allods or through his inheritance begins: "De alodibus vero hec sunt," and ends "Ecce supradicti hereditas." The list of the lands that Frotier held from the cathedral begins: "De beneficio etiam Sancti Petri et nostro cedimus per deprecationem ipsius Frotherii sacerdotis ad ipsum locum in supradicto pago et in jam dicta, in predio Vindopere, in ipsa villa, quartas III..."

⁹⁰ *Saint-Cyprien* 233 (pp. 151–52): "decimas ipsas cum omni illorum sepultura ex toto donamus beatae Mariae Virgini et Sancto Petro apostolo et omnibus sanctis, ut ipse

(and others) in this period believed that eternal reward would result not only from giving their own personal riches to support religious houses, but also for encouraging the generous impulses of others. This was also true if a bishop consented to a donation of land in which he had personal rights. In a charter from March 1019, for example, William the Great, duke of Aquitaine, laid out the circumstances of a gift he made to Cluny. The duke explained that one of his manors, on whose lands stood a church dedicated to Saint Paul, had been given by his mother to Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers. William wished now to turn over the church and land to Cluny, and the bishop consented willingly to this arrangement. In return, the monks of Cluny would hold continuous prayers for the benefit of both William and Gilbert.⁹¹

At times, however, it is less clear why the bishop's sanction was requested, or what the exact nature of the role he played was. The most notable example comes in the effort to establish the precise meaning of a phrase seen several times in the charters: gifts given to houses "in [or into] the hand of the bishop." In some cases it seems relatively straightforward. For example, when a man named Diotricus turned over his newly-established collegiate church of Saint-Austrille to the bishops of Limoges "through the hand of the venerable lord Ebles, bishop in the name of the saint and proto-martyr Stephen," Ebles acted as the representative of the institution to which the gift was given and made the arrangements to which his successors would be bound.⁹² In another case, a woman named Tesalga gave a church and various estates to Saint Stephen and the canons of Limoges. She added the following stipulation:

I, Tesalga, swear with my own hand on the altar of Saint Stephen so that no one is able—God forbid!—to contradict this gift: let the present donation, which I make voluntarily for the sake of my soul, remain stable and strong for all time. And so that it obtains full strength in the name of God, I confirmed it with my own hand on the altar of Saint Stephen,

sacerdos, qui sacrificium Deo in ipsa capella obtulerit, inprimis pro presenti pio pastore et huius operis auctore, et pro omnibus suis parentibus, et pro cuncto populo christiano, tam pro vivis quam et pro solutis debitae mortis, perpetualiter vivere possit."

⁹¹ Bernard and Bruel, eds., *Cluny* 2716 (3:739–40).

⁹² *Saint-Étienne* 8 (pp. 25–27): "per manus venerabilis presulis domni Eubalonis ad nomen sancti et prothomartiris Stephani dominio et potestate cunctorum episcoporum ipsius sanctae sedis...tradimus atque sacrando obtulimus." The phrase *in manu* is also used this way in a gift to Uzerche, which was accepted in the hand of the abbot: *Uzerche* 63 (p. 112).

into the hand of Bishop Jordan, and I asked that it be confirmed by the promises of noble men.⁹³

Tesalga thus stated explicitly that she involved Jordan in order to increase the security of her donation. Jordan may also have acted as a representative of the institution—the saint and the canons—to which the gift was given, as Ebles represented the church and the future bishops in the previous document.⁹⁴ The idea of the bishop as a representative of the cathedral as a whole fits well with the relationship between different members of the cathedral community outlined above.

The possibility that a bishop might represent a community other than the cathedral arises in the account of a gift to the monastery of Saint-Martial. The chronicler Geoffrey of Vigeois recounted that Gerald de Crozent gave the village of La Souterraine to the apostle Martial, “into the hand of Gerald, bishop of Limoges, in the presence of Duke William V, Count Bernard of the March, and Aimeri de Rançon.”⁹⁵ Gerald of Limoges exercised some control at Saint-Martial based upon his family’s long-standing role as lay patrons of the house, but his reign saw attempts by the house to throw off certain aspects of that control. It is also possible, of course, that in each of these cases the phrase “in the hand of the bishop” describes an actual physical act in a ceremony marking the donation, as well as the implications of that act.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Saint-Étienne* 76 (pp. 88–89): “Ego Tesalga, ut nullus hanc traditionem, quod absit, contradicere possit, propriis super altare sancti Stephani iuravi manibus: presens vero donacio quam pro animea mea voluntarie facio, omni tempore firma et stabilis permaneat. Et ut plenior in Dei nomine obtineat vigorem, manu propria super altare sancti Stephani subterfirmavi in manum Jordani episcopi et nobilium virorum stipulationibus firmare rogavi.”

⁹⁴ This may also be true in the case of two gifts made to the cathedral chapter of Saint-André in Bordeaux “in the hand of” Archbishop Godfrey II: Archives Départementales de la Gironde, G334, nos. 1 and 2. The documents have almost identical format; both end with the same statement: “Actum in manu domni Goffredi eiusdem ecclesiae venerabilis episcopi.”

⁹⁵ Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronique*, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. Labbe, c. 7, 2:282: “Roberto regnante, Elias Calesius, et Iscatfredus, ambo illustres, Rivum petrosum sancto Martiali Lemovicensi solemniter concesserunt. Geraldus de Crozent eidem Apostolo in manu Geraldii Lemovicensis Episcopi, coram Guillelmo Duce, Bernardo Comite de Marchia, Aimerico de Rançon, villam de Subterranea contulit.”

⁹⁶ On gestures and oral and written elements that were involved in ceremonies surrounding agreements, including homage, see Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 150–57; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 90–98; Jacques Le Goff, “Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité,” in Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident. 18 essais*. (Paris, 1977), pp. 349–420.

The records of the collegiate church of Saint-Laon de Thouars in northern Poitou describe another complex situation in which bishops were involved in gifts made to a house. Saint-Laon was established by three laymen during the reign of Bishop Isembert I of Poitiers, although our evidence for the foundation and endowment of the house comes in documents from the twelfth century.⁹⁷ In one of these charters, written in 1107, Bishop Peter II of Poitiers (r. 1087–1115) described the foundation of Saint-Laon, its subsequent fall from regular observance, and its restoration. Peter explained,

The founders of the above-mentioned church, Achardus and his wife Roscia, translated the body of Blessed Laon to Thouars from their allod, which is near Curzaicum and is still called “for Saint-Laon”; and [Achardus, Roscia and] Cadalo, their son and heir, gave the possession of the above-mentioned church forever to the canons by the gift of Bishop Isembert I, and first [the donors] placed four canons there.⁹⁸

The events laid out in this document are challenging to interpret.⁹⁹ In particular, why did Achardus, Roscia, and Cadalo give the church

⁹⁷ Hugues Imbert, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Laon-de-Thouars*, Mémoires de la société de statistique, sciences, lettres, et arts du département des Deux-Sèvres 2nd series, 14 (Niort, 1876). For the foundation of the house and the role of Isembert I, see nos. 3 (pp. 4–5) and 4 (pp. 6–8); also see the introduction, pp. viii–x.

⁹⁸ *Saint-Laon* 3 (pp. 4–5): “Predictae itaque ecclesie fundatores Achardus et Roscia uxor eius, qui corpus beati Launi, de alodo suo quod est iuxta Curzaicum et adhuc dicitur ad Sanctum-Launum, Toarcii transtulerunt; et Cadalo filius et heres eorum, dono Isemberti primi episcopi, concesserunt predictam ecclesiam canonicis perpetuo habendam, et primum in ea quatuor canonicos posuerunt.” This charter is dated 18 April 1107.

⁹⁹ Further on in the same document, Bishop Peter recounted that he had confirmed the house’s possession of lands and assets that had been originally given by the founders. *Saint-Laon* 3 (pp. 4–5): “Ecclesias quoque quas predictus Isembertus primus, episcopus et predecessor meus, alter Isembertus, eis dederunt concessione Achardi et uxoris eius Roscie, et Cadalonis filii eorum, de quorum casamento erant, eis concedimus, videlicet: tres ecclesias de Rothai; et ecclesiam de Romania; et ecclesiam Sancti Dionisii de Petrato cum decima; et ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Belloloco et totam decimam terre sue, quam in eiusdem ecclesie parrochia habent.” Note the phrasing: the bishops gave churches “by a concession” of the laymen, in whose holdings the churches lay. This situation seems simpler than the question of the “gift” of the bishop: the laymen may have held the churches from the cathedral, and thus it was appropriate for the bishops to give the churches to Saint-Laon at the laymen’s request or with their consent. In a comparable situation, Bishop William of Angoulême gave the church of Nieul to Uzerche with the consent of Viscount Guy of Limoges and his wife, Emma, who held the church. It is likely that Guy and Emma held Nieul, which lay in the diocese of Angoulême, from the bishop or the cathedral of Angoulême, as there is no other obvious reason why the bishop of Angoulême would be called upon to give a church to a monastery in the Limousin: *Uzerche* 63 (p. 112).

of Saint-Laon to the canons “by a gift of Isembert I”? If the family held Saint-Laon from the cathedral, then this might be another case of episcopal cooperation in making a donation. Although Achardus and Roscia founded Saint-Laon themselves, it is possible that the land on which it stood was held from the cathedral, and thus the bishop’s permission was required. It is also worth considering the exact meaning of the statement that the family granted Saint-Laon to the canons. At first glance, it appears to refer to the fact that they established Saint-Laon as a house of canons—the charter tells us that the family brought in four canons to form the basis of a community. In the light of another document from the house, also dated to 1107, however, the passage takes on another possible meaning. In this second charter, which recorded a dispute over possession of Saint-Laon, we learn that the church had been established by Bishop Isembert I as part of the holdings of the cathedral canons of Saint-Pierre.¹⁰⁰ It is possible that the family’s gift of Saint-Laon to the canons, therefore, refers to the transfer of the church to the possession of the cathedral canons and not to the lifestyle that they established at Saint-Laon. If this is the case, perhaps the fact that it was made “by the gift of Bishop Isembert I” means that the bishop received the gift on behalf of the canons—as “in the hand of” was occasionally used.

Although the exact terms of episcopal participation in these cases are not always easy to sort out, what does emerge clearly is the fact that bishops played a variety of roles in the donations of others. They appeared most frequently as witnesses to charters issued by laymen or other clerics. Bishops also, however, gave permission for the granting of land in which they had rights, either as bishop or as an individual. They added the force of their excommunication to threaten those who might menace a donation. They acted as the representative of an institution receiving a gift, or added their authority to an arrangement benefiting a house. They expected to reap rewards in the next life for these actions:

¹⁰⁰ This information comes in the context of a dispute: the cathedral canons and the canons of Saint-Laon condemned the fact that Bishop Peter II had given Saint-Laon to the monastery of Saint-Florent de Saumur, claiming that he had no right to make the gift because Saint-Laon was founded in the canonical order by Isembert I and was part of the right of the cathedral canons. See *Saint-Laon* 4 (pp. 6–8), also published in Paul Marchegay, ed., “Chartes poitevines de l’abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur (de 833 à 1160 environ),” *Archives historiques du Poitou* 2 (1873), 1–148 at pp. 55–58: The document recording Peter II’s gift of Saint-Laon to Saint-Florent is *Saint-Laon* 58 (pp. 53–54).

it is clear from these documents that it was not only the donors who would receive heavenly consideration for their part in a gift to a religious house. This underlines the idea of a gift as a communal action, involving individual donors, but also requiring and rewarding the participation of families, bishops, and other powerful men and women.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

The investigation of episcopal roles in donations helps to deepen our understanding of the relations between bishops and religious houses in several ways. First, the variety of these interactions is evident when we consider not only episcopal donations but also the supporting roles played by bishops in the gifts of others. Collections of episcopal *acta* rarely include documents that discuss these supporting functions, and yet an understanding of them is essential to appreciate the richness of the bishops' position in this period. The bishops' prestige and power allowed them to demand that certain donations be made. In other cases, laymen sought episcopal approval for their gifts or privileges, with the hope that the bishops' authority would help to ensure the future survival of those arrangements. Second, it is evident that an important aspect of episcopal piety, like that of contemporary lay aristocrats in this period, was centered on communities of monks and canons and their performance of common and continuous prayer. Although bishops were clerics themselves, they, like laymen, wished to support this prayer and therefore have access to the special benefits it provided. Their charters asserted that generosity to religious houses, either in the form of donations (which came either from their personal holdings or those of the cathedral) or of support for the gifts of others, would bring rewards.

Finally, the relations between bishops and religious houses can serve as a microcosm of the complex position of bishops in this period. Bishops exerted their spiritual power in pursuit of their pastoral duties as they encouraged donations to monks or canons and protected those gifts against future tampering through the threat of excommunication. They also cultivated the power of their sees and their families in this world by deepening their ties with religious houses through gifts. The

¹⁰¹ On a family's role in gift-giving, see White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints*.

dual roles played by bishops—as churchmen and members of aristocratic families—is perhaps illustrated most tellingly in the concern they articulated in their donations about the consequences for their souls of their temporal activities and wealth. This demonstrates once again that bishops stood at the crossroads of spiritual and political power in the tenth century, and that this position carried with it sometimes conflicting rights, duties, and considerations. I shall close this study, therefore, with a consideration of the ideal episcopate in this period.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: IDEALS OF EPISCOPAL POWER IN TENTH-CENTURY AQUITAINE

The recent crop of work on bishops in the tenth and early eleventh centuries has, ironically but perhaps inevitably, made these prelates harder to characterize. Such scholarship has emphasized the multifaceted nature of episcopal office, and it has drawn attention to the many networks of power in which the bishop participated, the wide range of his activities, and the central role he played in the lives of contemporary men and women, whether monastic, clerical, or lay. This laudable effort to bring the bishop back to the center of focus, rather than leaving him as a peripheral player in studies of the major political developments and monastic reform movements of the period, has prompted detailed attention to the behavior of particular bishops, in order to create a deeper understanding of the variety and complexity of these figures. What has been frequently sacrificed in pursuit of this goal is a broader view of the nature of the office; when that broader view is attempted, scholars have often bemoaned the difficulty of the task, describing the “ambiguity” and “either/or” nature of the episcopate.¹ And indeed, this is as it should be: the multifarious character of the bishop’s position gave it its particular qualities and influence, and as with many other concepts too often glossed over in medieval history, this should be embraced in all its untidiness and difficulty.²

I would, nonetheless, like to close with some wider-ranging thoughts on Aquitanian bishops in this period.³ The very nature of their position made the bishops of southwestern France prominent figures,

¹ Head, “The Ambiguous Bishop,” in *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones, pp. 250–64; Parisse, “Princes laïques et/ou moines,” in *Il secolo di ferro*, pp. 449–516.

² For a classic statement of such a case, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe,” *The American Historical Review* 79 (1974), 1063–88.

³ For a more Europe-wide view, an appropriately cautious sketch of certain commonalities among bishops of different regions in this period can be found in the work of the late Timothy Reuter: “Ein Europa der Bischöfe,” in *Bischof Burchard von Worms*, ed. Hartmann, pp. 1–28. See also the work of Head and Parisse, listed above, and

whose influence in the church was unequalled by any other powerful individuals. Royal authority was not significantly felt in this area, as it was in certain regions of northern France and Germany. Nor was papal influence a major factor. The activities and convictions of monastic reformers, so prominent in other parts of France, made little visible headway here. The power of dukes and other lay lords was undoubtedly significant in the Aquitanian church, but their influence was variable, and these men did not command the range of powers that bishops did. Bishops were the most constant and dominant presence in this church, an observation that holds true both in theory and in practice. The ecclesiology of Aquitaine in this period, in so far as it can be ascertained from chronicles and other sources, placed the bishop firmly at the head of the church with powers to supervise and to defend.⁴ In terms of actual recorded cases in charters, what is most arresting is the lack of evidence for resistance to episcopal authority, whether from the canons of a bishop's own cathedral, from religious houses, or from laymen. Indeed, each of these groups on many occasions sought out the bishop's support and approval for their actions. The few exceptions prove the general rule.⁵

The wide range and complexity of the bishop's authority, and the difficulty of describing that authority, which numerous scholars have wrestled with recently, go hand in hand. The temptation—and perhaps the only way to investigate systematically how the episcopate functioned—is to break the episcopal office into its component parts in order to try to embrace the whole. It is important, however, to realize the artificiality of these divisions. A recurring feature of this study has been its challenge to dichotomies other scholars have drawn, between canons' and bishops' estates, lay and ecclesiastical power, the duties of family and office, the secular and regular clergy, and so on. None of these neat partitions, on close examination, holds up. Even as seemingly clear a division as secular (or practical) versus sacred power—building walls versus excommunicating malefactors—should be reconsidered. The construction of walls around a sacred space might have been seen as a pious act, and as different from building castle fortifications as using violence to plunder a monastery was from using “peaceful” force

the introductions to *The Bishop*, ed. Gilsdorf, and *The Bishop Reformed*, ed. Ott and Trumbore Jones.

⁴ Trumbore Jones, “Discovering the Aquitanian Church.”

⁵ See above, chapter 4, pp. 138–42.

to protect one.⁶ We need to become as comfortable with the multifaceted, fluid, often seemingly contradictory nature of episcopal office as contemporaries seem to have been.

The power of the Aquitanian bishop was neither the holy power of retreat from the world, following a monastic model, nor might wielded exclusively in the world. His sacred power was not usually directed toward personal or contemplative ends but rather pastoral and supervisory ones; his worldly connections were generally used to mobilize support for his family or for the churches to which he was tied. If a generalization can be made about episcopal power in tenth- and eleventh-century Aquitaine, therefore, it may be that such power provided the bishop with the ability to create and maintain community. Whether pacing the perimeter of a new monastic church, excommunicating heretics, building walls around a cathedral, or lending his support to the activities of the duke, the bishop served to define communities. This necessitated engagement with those around him and the combination of his more transcendent powers with mundane concerns. For this, the bishops of Aquitaine were celebrated, revered, and invoked.

These conclusions are reinforced when we turn to the question of what tenth- and eleventh-century Aquitanian men and women expected or wished for from their bishops. How did they define an ideal prelate? How did the bishops themselves conceive of their office? These are challenging questions. For other regions of Europe, the *vitae* of saintly prelates have been the most widely-used sources for reconstructing characteristics of ideal bishops, serving as the foundation for many excellent studies of the northern French and German episcopates in particular.⁷ Tenth-century Aquitanian bishops, however, inspired no full-length hagiography, making it necessary to rely on allusions to admirable bishops found in Aquitanian chronicles and charters from this period. As an example of the kind of bishop lauded in contemporary sources, it is worthwhile to consider Ebles, who ruled the see of Limoges from 944 to ca. 977, and whom the monk Ademar of Chabannes singled out as a “good pastor” in a passage from his chronicle, written in the early eleventh century. Insight into the challenges of episcopal office can also be gained from documents issued by Ebles himself: as we saw in the

⁶ Martindale, “Peace and War,” in *Medieval Knighthood 4*, ed. Harper-Bill and Harvey, pp. 147–76.

⁷ See above, chapter 1, nn. 26, 34, and 67.

previous chapter, he gave several donation charters to religious houses in his home region of Poitou, in which he outlined his thinking on the condition to which his soul had been relegated by his lifestyle.

Ebles is a compelling figure for a number of reasons. First, he was an influential member of a powerful family. He was the son and namesake of Ebles Manzer, count of Poitou, and the younger brother of William Tow-Head, who was the first member of the Poitevin comital house to take the title of duke of Aquitaine. Ebles worked closely with his brother on many matters and, after Tow-Head's death, acted as an advisor to his nephew, Duke William Iron-Arm. Second, Ebles held several important church offices simultaneously: in addition to his bishopric, he served as treasurer of the venerable collegiate church of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and as abbot of the monastery of Saint-Maixent. Finally, Ebles was a rarity among Aquitanian bishops in that he attracted a relatively lengthy biographical sketch in a contemporary narrative source.⁸ Ademar of Chabannes devoted a detailed passage of his chronicle to a description of Ebles's activities, a passage worth quoting at some length:

Ebles, with the consent of King Louis, was made bishop of Limoges. [His brother] William, nicknamed Tow-Head, became count of Auvergne, Velay, Limoges, and Poitou and duke of Aquitaine by [the will of] the above mentioned king. [William] offered to his brother [Ebles] the abbeys of Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Maixent, and many other possessions in Poitou. Ebles was a good pastor of the church; he completed the castle of the see of Saint-Étienne of Limoges, which his predecessor, Bishop Turpio, had begun. He rebuilt the castle of Saint-Hilaire, and placed canons there, because that place, which was a former dwelling of monks, had been deserted due to Norman attacks. [Ebles] restored the monastery of Saint-Maixent, and finished the castle around it. [Ebles] restored the monastery of Saint-Michel, which is called "en l'Erm" and did many other praiseworthy things in the service of God.⁹

⁸ Later sources, such as the *Historia pontificum* and *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus episcopis*, offer biographical sketches of bishops. Even there, however, assessments of the qualities of bishops, or insights into their emotions (as seen in Ademar's passage on Ebles) remain rare.

⁹ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (pp. 146–47): "Eblus enim, annuente Ludovico rege, pontifex Lemovicae factus est. Willelmus vero cognomento Caput stuppe a rege supradicto Arvernensis, Vallatis, Lemovice et Pictavis comes proventus, dux Aquitanie extitit. Hic germano suo abbatiam Sancti Hilarii ac Sancti Maxencii cum nonnullis aliis possessionibus in Pictavensi solo prebuit. Fuit idem Eblus bonus pastor ecclesiae, et castellum Sancti Stephani Lemovice sedis, quod Turpio episcopus, antecessor eius, magna ex parte a solo construxerat, hic ad perfectum integravit. Construxit a novo castellum

In a subsequent section of his chronicle, Ademar tells us that Ebles, burdened by the demands of his office, appointed his foster son, Benedict, as chorbishop—a sort of assistant bishop. Ebles was fond of Benedict, “whom he had raised from boyhood,” and he intended Benedict to be his successor to the see of Limoges. This plan was foiled when Benedict was seized and blinded by the count of Périgord; he later died of his injuries, and Ebles, according to Ademar, carried the “intolerable sorrow” of Benedict’s loss with him until his death.¹⁰

I have discussed many aspects of Ebles’s activities described in this passage in previous chapters: in particular, his role within the powerful comital/ducal house of Aquitaine and his reconstruction of and generosity to many religious communities. And yet what is perhaps most striking is Ademar’s claim that Ebles was a “good pastor.” This is not an assertion seen often in Aquitanian sources. What, then, made Ebles notable, from Ademar’s point of view? An influential, although now century-old, interpretation came in Alfred Richard’s history of the count/dukes of Poitou, which remains the only full-length published study of that family. Richard theorized that Ademar singled out Ebles for praise because, unlike his contemporary bishops, Ebles avoided the lifestyle of a secular lord, which his wealth and family connections would have allowed him.¹¹ Richard also emphasized Ademar’s description of Ebles’s work as a restorer of religious houses and his generous donations to these communities. These two factors distinguished Ebles from his fellow bishops and made him a “good pastor,” according to Richard.¹²

This interpretation, laden as it is with certain anachronistic assumptions about the role of bishop, is vulnerable to challenge based on a careful re-reading of Ademar’s text. First and most important, it is clear that for Ademar a “good pastor” did not need to be disconnected from worldly power and the aristocratic milieu from which he came. Ademar

Sancti Hilarii, et canonicos ibi disposuit, quia infestatione Nortmannorum idem locus a monachorum prisca habitatione desciverat. Restauravit monasterium Sancti Maxentii, et castellum in circuitu perfecit. Restauravit et monasterium Sancti Michaelis quod vocatur ad Eremum et multa alia laudabilia in opere Dei egit.”

¹⁰ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.25 (p. 147).

¹¹ Richard, *Histoire des comtes*, 1:95.

¹² As I discussed in chapter 3, discomfort with the melding of the spiritual and worldly responsibilities of the bishop, while on the wane in recent scholarship, still appears on occasion—see Barthélemy, *L’an mil*, pp. 301–6, who suggests that bishops’ political and military activities were incompatible with the principles of the Peace of God.

openly described Ebles's family connections and made clear that he received control over the houses of Saint-Hilaire and Saint-Maixent from his brother the duke. Nor did Ademar refrain from portraying Ebles's attempt to name his own successor in the see of Limoges; indeed, he recounted with poignancy Ebles's grief at the death of his foster son and the consequent ruin of his plan. Clearly the attempt to establish an episcopal dynasty in Limoges on the part of the Poitevin ruling family did not exclude Ebles from the ranks of admirable bishops.

If a "good pastor" did not have to avoid secular ties, what were his salient characteristics, according to this monastic author? Involvement with religious houses was certainly praiseworthy, and Ebles's particularly active participation in this arena was notable. The majority of Ademar's passage is devoted to Ebles's restoration of the cathedral church of Saint-Étienne in Limoges and of a number of houses in Poitou. What is striking is not the fact that Ebles was involved in these restorations, but rather the aspects of these activities that Ademar chose to emphasize. In only one case did Ademar discuss Ebles's involvement in the religious life of the regular clergy at a restored house: this was Ebles's implantation of canons at the house of Saint-Hilaire, which, Ademar claimed, had previously been a monastery but lay deserted after its monks fled the Norman raids of the mid-ninth century.¹³ Otherwise, Ademar's account of Ebles's restorations concentrated on the bishop's efforts to rebuild and fortify religious communities. Ebles is praised for providing defenses for the communities he restored, which would protect them—and the rounds of common prayer they conducted daily—from raids or hostilities. The passage in which he is labeled as a "good pastor" thus focuses specifically on what we might call the practical aid he gave to religious life in his region—although, as I remarked above, we should not assume that such aid was without spiritual significance in the eyes of contemporaries. A charter from Saint-Maixent in Poitou, which described Ebles's restoration of that monastery, his work reassembling its possessions, and his marshalling of the support of lay magnates (including his brother) for the house, also praised Ebles not for his dissociation from worldly power, but rather for allying that power with his spiritual authority in order to ensure the future income and security of a monastery.¹⁴

¹³ This assertion is inaccurate: see above, chapter 5, n. 37.

¹⁴ *Saint-Maixent* 23 (pp. 35–37).

Undoubtedly both Ademar and the author of the charter would have been aware that Ebles's fortification of these communities, which allowed for the undisturbed conduct of prayer, also served a political purpose for his family, as his brother the duke pursued his goal of securing authority over all of Poitou. With the exception of his efforts at the cathedral in Limoges, all of Ebles's activity at religious houses (as described in Ademar's passage) focused on his natal region of Poitou rather than his diocese. This is not to say that bishops in this period were not expected to oversee, and reform if necessary, the spiritual life at religious communities. Hildegard of Limoges introduced the Benedictine Rule at Uzerche, and he was praised by Ademar and a later chronicle for replacing the canonical lifestyle at the house of Eymoutiers with monastic observance.¹⁵ Ademar's fabricated account of the council of Limoges in 1031—a useful source despite its problems—also emphasized the importance of religious houses submitting to the supervision of bishops.¹⁶ There are many other such examples. Rather, it seems that bishops were embraced by contemporaries such as Ademar for the range of activities and power that they could bring to bear in support of a community. Ebles—Ademar's "good pastor"—was specifically praised in more than one source for offering both spiritual oversight and more tangible measures of protection to the religious houses in his care. What these Aquitanian authors wished for from their bishop, and what a figure like Ebles provided, was precisely that combination of spiritual authority and the potential for physical force that only a man called from the ranks of the nobility to the apostolic office of the episcopate could wield. In Aquitaine few if any bishops in this period came from humble origins. Only one bishop is explicitly described as having taken up his see after a monastic career, and this fact is related in passing, without any particular praise.¹⁷ The unworldly holiness that a monastic background might imply was not, apparently, missed among Aquitanian bishops; nor did Aquitanian authors seem to desire prelates of lesser means.

¹⁵ On Hildegard at Uzerche, see Becquet, *Actes*, no. 10 (pp. 34–37); *Uzerche* 31 (pp. 60–65). On his efforts at Eymoutiers, see Ademar, *Chronicon*, 3.35 (p. 157); *Historia monasterii Usercensis*, pp. 22–23; Trumbore Jones, "Fragments of Devotion," in *History in the Comic Mode*, ed. Fulton and Holsinger, pp. 81–82, 90.

¹⁶ Mansi 19:507–48. On the nature of this source and its discussion of episcopal oversight of religious houses, see Trumbore Jones, "Discovering the Aquitanian Church."

¹⁷ Seguin of Bordeaux (ca. 999–ca. 1015): Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.48 (p. 167).

When examining a broader range of episcopal portraits in Ademar's chronicle, particularly the involvement of bishops in worldly affairs, the comfort seen in his description of Ebles's multifaceted power and activities recurs frequently. Ademar did not disparage bishops on principle for their participation in wars or even their use of money and influence to purchase religious houses; rather, he seems to have judged such behavior on a case-by-case basis. Even when Bishop Hilduin of Limoges launched a campaign against a castellan named Jordan of Chabannes, who was in all likelihood Ademar's own relative, Ademar's tone remains neutral.¹⁸ This attitude is echoed in other contemporary sources, which report matter-of-factly upon episcopal involvement in warfare, only criticizing cases in which bishops were seen to fight on the wrong side.¹⁹ Similarly, Ademar might object to a bishop receiving a religious house from a layperson in a particular case, such as Grimoard of Angoulême's possession of Saint-Cybard, but not in general, as Ebles's receipt of various communities from his brother proves.²⁰ An admirable bishop was marked not by his unworldliness, therefore, but by how he used the powers he was expected to have to aid (in the broadest sense) the conduct of religious life. Similarly, charters surrounding episcopal restorations of religious houses in this region show bishops being praised for their concern with both the observance at a given community and its practical needs. Responsibilities that might seem incompatible were an accepted fact of the Aquitanian episcopate, according to these sources; we should also be aware that bishops balanced still further roles that are described at less length in the Aquitanian evidence, such as that of cultural patron.²¹

The existence of this ideal of the bishop who could both build walls and oversee proper observance does not mean, however, that contemporaries—particularly the bishops themselves—were unaware of the

¹⁸ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.42 (p. 163).

¹⁹ For examples of episcopal participation in warfare, see the descriptions in the *Conventum* of Hugh of Lusignan and the later *Fragmentum de Petragoricensibus epis-copis*: above, chapter 3, pp. 86–90.

²⁰ Ademar, *Chronicon* 3.36 (p. 158).

²¹ In an acrostic poem dedicating a copy of the *Liber Pontificalis* to Bishop Roho of Angoulême, Ademar compared the power of that prelate to the popes the book celebrated, and praised Roho as “a pious man, distinguished for good deeds, elegant in action, always beloved to me.” The poem is found in PL 141:113–14; see commentary in Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, p. 109. I thank William Tortorelli of Northwestern University for his help with the translation of this poem.

challenges posed by the position.²² Ebles of Limoges expressed unease concerning aspects of his lifestyle in a major donation he gave to the monastery of Saint-Maixent in the mid-960s. In the course of this charter he specified that the lands and assets he gave were family wealth, which came to him by right of heredity. Later in the document he voiced his concern that those possessions would threaten his soul in future.²³ This document makes clear that Ebles did not eschew the wealth and position that had come to him by virtue of his princely status—had he done so, his qualms would never have arisen. Ebles did acknowledge, however, that his spiritual concerns and worldly position sometimes pulled him in two different directions. The same power and influence that allowed Ebles to protect religious houses, and drew praise from Ademar, caused him personal disquiet. Similar sentiments are found in other documents given by Ebles's contemporaries. His predecessor, Turpio of Limoges, for example, founded the monastery of Saint-Augustin for the benefit of his own soul, and declared in his foundation charter that as he was not free to join the monastic life himself, immersed as he was in the worldly responsibilities of his office, he might at least allow others to pursue that path.²⁴ These expressions of anxiety in episcopal charters eliminate any conception that Aquitanian bishops were unworldly clerics untouched by their secular ties, or, conversely, that they were sheer secular opportunists exploiting a holy office. They serve as evidence that these prelates were neither unaware nor unconcerned about the tension inherent in the position they held.

It is striking, however, that that tension seems to have weighed most heavily on the bishops themselves, as it is most commonly expressed in the sources by the prelates about their own status. There was not, as far as I am aware, debate in other Aquitanian sources about whether the bishops should wield secular power, although the manner in which they used it might be criticized. Nor was it doubted in Aquitaine that bishops should wield their power—both secular and spiritual—over religious houses. Although the work of Abbo of Fleury and like-minded advocates of monastic exemption was known in Aquitaine, the idea that

²² John Nightingale has used both narrative and diplomatic sources to explore the tenth-century German ideal of the bishop as both warrior and churchman, an idea that, Nightingale argues, prompted unease and debate among contemporaries about the correct balance of the two roles: Nightingale, "Bishop Gerard of Toul," in *Warriors and Churchmen*, ed. Reuter.

²³ *Saint-Maixent* 33 (pp. 48–50).

²⁴ Becquet, *Actes*, no. 6 (pp. 27–29); *Saint-Étienne* 17 (pp. 39–41).

religious houses should remain free of episcopal involvement is absent in these sources. Ademar of Chabannes praised Ebles of Limoges as a “good pastor” not for abdicating the temporal power that his position and family connections brought him, but for combining that power with pastoral concerns and spiritual authority and using the resulting potent combination to aid religious communities. Accepted—indeed welcomed—though this situation may have been, it did not make the responsibilities of this role always comfortable to negotiate, as indicated by the expressions of apprehension found in charters issued by the bishops themselves.

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